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## SOME THIRTEENTH-CENTURY ANGLO-NORMAN WRITERS

IN HIS convenient manual Professor Vising tells us: "The greater part of Anglo-Norman literature is anonymous, and in this respect resembles mediaeval literature in general. In many cases where the authors have told us their names we know nothing or next to nothing about them."<sup>1</sup> Some well-known persons, however, wrote in this type of language: among them Archbishop Edmund of Abingdon; Robert Grosseteste, Bishop of Lincoln; and Alexander Nequam, Abbot of Cirencester.<sup>2</sup> Of the other writers about whom something is known Vising has stated that four were monks: Martin and Everard of Gately of St. Edmundsbury, Angier of St. Frideswide, and Simon of an unstated monastery.<sup>3</sup> To these he adds the lawyer Britton, and with these in mind he says, "It is among men of the Church that most of the literary authors are to be found."

Upon the basis of the sources which Vising cites, he might have furnished additional biographical information. Simon of Walsingham is said to have been a monk of Bury St. Edmunds.<sup>4</sup> Simon de Kerner-

<sup>1</sup> Johan Vising, *Anglo-Norman Language and Literature* (Oxford University Press, 1923), p. 38.

<sup>2</sup> For Nequam see F. M. Powicke, "Alexander of St. Albans, a Literary Muddle," *Essays in History Presented to R. L. Poole* (Oxford, 1927), pp. 246-60, and J. C. Russell, "The English Court as an Intellectual Center (1199-1227)," *Colorado College Publications* (December, 1927), pp. 62-66. The identification of Alexander of St. Albans as Alexander Nequam is still uncertain.

<sup>3</sup> *Op. cit.*, pp. 52, 53, 54, 59, 69.

<sup>4</sup> *Revue des langues romanes*, LIV (1911), 219.

thin was an Austin friar;<sup>1</sup> Henry d'Arce, a templar of Temple Bruere, Yorkshire;<sup>2</sup> and Peter Langtoft, a canon of Bridlington.<sup>3</sup> Peter of Ickham was thought to have been a monk of Canterbury,<sup>4</sup> and Nicholas Bozon a friar minor.<sup>5</sup> Robert of Gretham was a chaplain.<sup>6</sup> Walter of Henley is alleged to have been a knight and later a Dominican friar.<sup>7</sup> Even though Walter of Bibbysworth, a knight, be added, the list is still preponderantly clerical.

This information has been collected largely from the manuscripts, which, indeed, have been explored rather thoroughly. In a few instances this has been supplemented by documentary sources; in these, thirteenth-century England is especially rich. Thence came the material about Walter of Bibbysworth, and more recently M. Dominica Legge has noted several items concerning a Master Peter of Peckham, who, she suggests, might have been the Anglo-Norman writer.<sup>8</sup> With respect to these and to other Anglo-Norman writers, the documents offer some instances of identical names. Care must be taken, however, in regard to the assertion of possible, of probable, and of certain identification. Two references, for instance, to a Robert of Gretham appear in a Whitby cartulary, but since this person was a small landowner the mere identity of name is not sufficient to suggest identification with the chaplain-author of the same name.<sup>9</sup> In this article, the less satisfactory evidence will be presented first.

<sup>1</sup> *Zeitschrift für französische Sprache und Literatur*, XIV (1892), 150:

"Frere Simon de Kernerthun  
Profes en l'ordre de saint Augustin."

<sup>2</sup> *Notices et extraits des manuscrits*, XXXV, 1, 139. A possible reference to this poet may be the *fratre Henrico capellano*, the first of a list of Templar witnesses to a "grant by Amadeus de Morestello, Master of the Knights Templars of England and his brethren in chapter at Temple Dinsley to Henry de Coleville of a toft, etc., at Normanton in exchange for other land there," Easter, 1258 (*Hist. MSS Comm.* [Duke of Rutland], IV, 84).

<sup>3</sup> *Romania*, XXXVII (1908), 210.

<sup>4</sup> *Le Livre de Reis de Brittanie e le Livre de Reis de Engleterre*, ed. John Glover (London, 1865; "Rolls Series"), pp. x-xiii.

<sup>5</sup> *Romania*, XIII (1884), 507. A colophon states, "Cest tretys de la passion fist frere Nicole Boioun, del ordre des freres menours."

<sup>6</sup> *Ibid.*, XV (1886), 296.

<sup>7</sup> *Walter of Henley's Husbandry*, ed. Elizabeth Lamond (London, 1890), p. xxi.

<sup>8</sup> "Pierre de Peckham and his *Lumiere as Lois*," *Modern Language Review*, XXIV (1929), 38-39.

<sup>9</sup> *Cartularium Abbatiae de Whiteby* (Durham, 1878; "Surtees Society," No. 72), II, 739, under *Redditus et Firmas in Filyng Rowl*: "Rob. Grethan h.a. cum xii (ut supra): etc." (*ibid.*, p. 741: "Rob. Gretam h.a.>").

## I

Brykhulle, author of *La Geste de Blancheflour e de Florence*, said that he translated his work from the English version of Banastre.<sup>1</sup> Both names are apparently family names. Banastre is quite common, but Brykhulle is rare. It appears in Chester. As the Banastres were also represented in Chester, we may point to the possibility of finding our author there.<sup>2</sup> William de Brykhulle held a number of benefices, including the deanship of St. John of Chester, and was a royal clerk, about 1295.<sup>3</sup> There was also a contemporary Hugh de Brykhulle, who appears frequently upon both royal and personal business. In one instance his name occurs at the end of a list of witnesses, the position usually taken by the scribe of the charter; this should signify that he was a literate man.<sup>4</sup> Like a certain Richard Banastre, he had difficulties with a Master Richard the Engineer. However, the chief reason for preferring him as a candidate is that the *Geste* makes the knight triumph over the clerk<sup>5</sup>—a result which William de Brykhulle could hardly be expected to approve.

## II

The Anglo-Norman version of the *Letter of Prester John* was written by a "Roau d'Arundel," presumably about 1192. The Latin text had been secured by the crusaders William de Vere and his man, Gilbert le Boteler.<sup>6</sup> In England there was a Master Roger (if so we may identify the Roau) of Arundel of about the time designated.<sup>7</sup> With Lawrence the Archdeacon he returned the farm of the manors of the archbishopric of York to the exchequer, from 28 Henry II (1182-83) to 1 Richard I (1189-90).<sup>8</sup> From this year to 1202 he served oc-

<sup>1</sup> *Romania*, XXXVII (1908), 234.

<sup>2</sup> *Calendar of County Court, City Court and Eyre Rolls of Chester, 1257-1297*, ed. R. Stewart-Brown (Manchester, 1925; "Chetham Society"); see Index.

<sup>3</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 191; May 31, 1294. Also *Calendar of Close Rolls, 1288-1296*, p. 28; April, 1295; *Calendar of Patent Rolls, 1292-1301*, p. 519; *Calendar of Papal Letters*, I, 548; January 27, 1291.

<sup>4</sup> *Calendar of County Court . . . of Chester*, pp. 153, 170.

<sup>5</sup> *Romania*, XXXVII (1908), 223-24.

<sup>6</sup> *Notices et extraits des manuscrits*, XXXIV, 1, 233.

<sup>7</sup> Possibly another at Whitby: *Cartularium Abbathiae de Whiteby* (Durham, 1878; "Surtees Society," No. 69), I, 89 n., 108, 115, 181, 184; but he is not a master.

<sup>8</sup> *Pipe Roll Society Publications*: 28 Hen. II, p. 62; 29 Hen. II, p. 59; 30 Hen. II, p. 30; 31 Hen. II, p. 78; 32 Hen. II, p. 100; 33 Hen. II, pp. 90, 97; 34 Hen. II, pp. 9, 88; 1 Richard I, pp. 9, 84; also the *Rotuli de dominabus*, p. 3.

asionally as itinerant justice.<sup>1</sup> He had died by September 17, 1213: on that date his nephew paid a relief to secure his property.<sup>2</sup>

A contemporary William de Vere was also an itinerant justice. He appears first as director of construction of a church at Waltham, and elsewhere, from 23 Henry II (1177-78) to 28 Henry II (1182-83).<sup>3</sup> From 31 Henry II (1185-86) until 1194 and probably later he served as an itinerant justice.<sup>4</sup> Even among the justices he seems to have occupied an important position; the citation usually reads "De placitis Willelmi de Ver et sociorum eius." Later references to him are very scarce.<sup>5</sup> If the itinerant justice was the crusader, he must have been in the East before 23 Henry II, or, more probably, during the gap in the items referring to him, that is, 28-31 Henry III. Another possible William de Vere is the Bishop of Hereford (1184-99), the friend of Giraldus Cambrensis and of Robert Grosseteste.<sup>6</sup>

### III

Walter of Henley, author of the famous *Husbandry*, may possibly be the person to whom King John granted the lands of William fitz Reynard and Nicholas of Kennett, in November, 1215, to the value of forty and ten pounds, respectively.<sup>7</sup> Later, in September, 1217, Henry III wrote to the sheriff of Kent and to Faulkes Breauté in regard to Walter de Hanleye, who had evidently gone over to the opposition. This identification might fit into the tradition that Walter

<sup>1</sup> Pipe Rolls: 1 Ric. I, p. 84; 3 and 4 Ric. I, pp. 54, 74, 75; Feet of Fines ("P.R. Soc.," No. 17), p. 13; *The Register of the Priory of St. Bees*, ed. James Wilson (Durham, 1915; "Surtees Society," No. 126), p. 544; September 23, 1202.

<sup>2</sup> *Rotuli de oblatis et finibus temp. Johannis* (London, 1835), p. 491.

<sup>3</sup> *Pipe Roll Society Publications*: 23 Hen. II, p. 201; 25 Hen. II, pp. 52, 125; 26 Hen. II, pp. 2, 34, 123; 27 Hen. II, pp. 93, 102, 156; 28 Hen. II, p. 159.

<sup>4</sup> *Ibid.*: 31 Hen. II, pp. 16, 35, 57, 86, 101, 112, 135, 221, 228, 237; 32 Hen. II, pp. 24, 31, 41, 46, 51, 56, 74, 104, 114, 189, 195; 33 Hen. II, pp. 34, 48, 70, 167, 190, 207, 213, 218; 34 Hen. II, pp. 24, 69, 122, 194, 254; 1 Ric. I, pp. 32, 58, 156; 2 Ric. I, pp. 78, 139, 148; 3 and 4 Ric. I, pp. 106, 143, 198, 309; 5 Ric. I, pp. 142, 167; 6 Ric. I, pp. 81, 245. Here the continuous edition of the Pipe Rolls ceases.

<sup>5</sup> *Rotuli litterarum patentium*, I, 27b, 33 (1203); *Rotuli litterarum clausarum*, I, 375b (November 18, 1217), speak of a William fitz William de Vere, probably the son of the justice.

Boteler or Butler is a common name, but Gilbert appears rarely. *Rotuli litterarum clausarum*, II, 62b (September 21, 1225), 93 (January 10, 1226), suggests a possibility of association with the son of the justice.

<sup>6</sup> See *Dictionary of National Biography*, under "Grosseteste."

<sup>7</sup> *Rotuli litterarum clausarum*, I, 234 (2), 234b, 235b, 323b.



had been a knight before becoming a Dominican. A Walter of Henley, probably but not necessarily another, occurs as a clerk of Robert, prior of Bath (1198-1223), to whom the prior gave the church of Bampton and other rights.<sup>1</sup> He also appears as a witness.<sup>2</sup>

## IV

Ralph of Lenham, author of the long metrical calendar of 1256, is probably to be identified with the Ralph de Linham who witnessed an agreement between Robert de Beauchamp and John de Vautort, in 1261.<sup>3</sup> He may possibly be the Ralph of Lenham whose name appears twice in the pipe-roll of 14 Henry III (1230-31) and who paid eight marks in one instance for a scutage, and sixteen shillings in another for wardships both of the honor of Richmond.<sup>4</sup> However, the latter may be, or probably is, the knight holding three fiefs of the honor of Brittany, in Norfolk and Suffolk, about 1210-12.<sup>5</sup>

## V

A high degree of probability may be allowed in the identification of a priest of the deanery of Rydal in the province of York, who paid five shillings as a contribution to the Crusades, in 1275, with the William of Wadington, probable author of the well-known *Manuel de Pechiez*.<sup>6</sup> There is a coincidence of time and of locality,<sup>7</sup> Northern England, and the *Manuel* is just the type of work we might expect a priest to write.

<sup>1</sup> *Two Chartularies of the Priory of St. Peter at Bath*, ed. William Hunt (London, 1893; "Somerset Record Society," No. 7), II, 55, 84.

<sup>2</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 87. A Walter of Henley was one of several persons whom the King ordered sheriff of Northampton to hold for the murder of Hugh Bacon, on February 24, 1242 (*Calendar of Close Rolls, 1237-1242*, p. 396).

<sup>3</sup> *Two Beauchamp Registers*, ed. H. C. Maxwell-Lyte (London, 1920; "Somerset Record Society," No. 35), p. 105.

<sup>4</sup> *The Great Roll of the Pipe, 14 Henry III*, pp. 346, 347, under "Norfolk-Suffolk."

<sup>5</sup> *The Red Book of the Exchequer*, ed. Hubert Hall (London, 1896), p. 480: "Milites tenentes de honore Britannie in his comitatibus [Norfolk-Suffolk]. Radulfus de Lenham iii feoda." The editor gives the date as above.

<sup>6</sup> *The Register of Walter Giffard, Archbishop of York (1266-1279)*, ed. William Brown (Durham, 1904; "Surtees Society," No. 109), p. 282; *Historical Papers and Letters from Northern Registers*, ed. James Raine (London, 1873; "Rolls Series," No. 61, p. 53.

<sup>7</sup> Vising, *op. cit.*, p. 40, gives Lincolnshire as the place of composition, but does not state his reasons.

## VI

M. Dominica Legge is hesitant in identifying the Master Peter of Peckham, who appears in the documents, with the author of probably the same name.<sup>1</sup> The author also gave his name as Pierre d'Abernun, a family name, and called himself a clerk. In 1268 he finished *La Lumiere as Lais*, completing it at Oxford after commencing it at Newark in Surrey. Afterward he translated into Anglo-Norman the *Vie de St. Richard de Chichestre* and the *Secret of Secrets*. M. Dominica Legge seems to suggest that Peter of Peckham was an Austin friar, because of his connection with Newark, where an Austin friary was located. He might not have been able to hold land on that account. However, since Peter says that he was a clerk, it is very unlikely that he was a monk, and we know that clerks held land. Let us examine the career of the Master Peter of Peckham of the documents.

About 1279 an inquest of pleas *de quo warranto* determined that a village in Kent was usually represented at the Hundred Court of Twyford by three men, among them Master Peter of Peckham, but that, after the battle of Lewes (1264), they withdrew their suit and attended the court of Warin de Munchanesi.<sup>2</sup> For this act Master Peter of Peckham was apparently fined one hundred marks.<sup>3</sup> On September 10, 1285, he secured a letter patent granting him a safe-conduct, as he was going to the Continent.<sup>4</sup> About three years later, March 15, 1288, five men holding land in the county of Surrey acknowledged that they owed a debt of six marks to him.<sup>5</sup> In 1291, Thomas de Meredon acknowledges a debt of nineteen pounds "to be levied in default of payment, of his lands and chattels in county Kent."<sup>6</sup> Four years after this, the King grants to his clerk *Ilerijs de Ingolisma*, the books which came to his hand by the forfeiture of Master Peter of Peckham.<sup>7</sup> Before his death, Peter had held a messuage

<sup>1</sup> One form of the name is Fetcham, which critically is more probable than Peckham, since the archbishop, John Peckham, had given prominence to this name (see *op. cit.*, XXIV, 37-39, 40).

<sup>2</sup> *Placita de Quo Warranto temporibus Edw. I, II, III, etc.* (London, 1818), pp. 1, 346 (7 Ed. I).

<sup>3</sup> *The Ancient Kalendars and Inventories of the Treasury of His Majesty's Exchequer*, ed. Francis Palgrave (London, 1836), p. 136.

<sup>4</sup> *Calendar of Patent Rolls, 1291-1292*, p. 192.

<sup>5</sup> *Calendar of Close Rolls, 1279-1288*, p. 532.

<sup>6</sup> *Ibid.*, 1288-1296, p. 192.

<sup>7</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 433: October 1, 1295.

of the king, at four-pence yearly rent, in the parish of St. Mary Aldermanbury, London, which fell into the hands of a certain John Dode. However, Edward I recovered this because the king received all escheats in London of bastards who died intestate.<sup>1</sup>

From this list of items we may now make some deductions. The career of Master Peter of Peckham began before 1264, and ended during the reign of Edward I, before 1307. Although no mention is made of his status other than that he was a "master," the reference to his books makes it fairly certain that "master" did not signify rank in a crafts guild, but was academic. That he was a clerk may be inferred, the more so because the books were apparently suitable for and given to a clerk. Furthermore, he was a man of some wealth, and had interests in the counties of Kent, Surrey, and Middlesex. In this career there is nothing which makes an identification improbable with the author of the same name, and there are marked coincidences in the time of their lives, in their probable status as clerks, and in their connection with Surrey. Were their name a common one, like John of London, identity might still be regarded as doubtful, but Master Peter of Peckham is a very distinctive combination.

## VII

One of the most interesting characters among the Anglo-Norman writers was a huntsman of Edward II who wrote an *Art de Venerie*. In the manuscripts, his name is variously given as William Twich, Twici, or Twety.<sup>2</sup> Over a quarter of a century ago this man was identified by G. J. Turner as the huntsman William Twyt, or Twiti, who was sent by Edward II, in 1322, "to take fat venison in the forests, parks, and chaces of Thomas, late earl of Lancaster in that county [Lancaster],"<sup>3</sup> and whose maintenance at the Abbey of Reading was granted to a royal sergeant six years later.<sup>4</sup> Placed appropriately, but nevertheless obscurely, in the Introduction to the *Select Pleas of the*

<sup>1</sup> *Placitorum in Domo Capitulari Westmonasteriensi asservatorum Abbrevatio*, Richard I-Edward II (London, 1811), p. 310 (3 Ed. II); *Calendar of Patent Rolls, 1307-1313*, p. 265: July 12, 1310.

<sup>2</sup> Vising, *op. cit.*, p. 68; *Catalogue of the MSS in the Cottonian Library* (London, 1837), under "MS Vesp. B. xii."

<sup>3</sup> *Calendar of Close Rolls, 1318-1323*, p. 578: July 21, 1322.

<sup>4</sup> *Ibid.*, 1327-1330, p. 371: York, March 13, 1328.

*Forest*, this information has attracted no attention.<sup>1</sup> However, none of the forms Twich, Twici, Twety, Twyt, or Twiti is satisfactory as an English name.

A further hint is the mention of a William de Tweyt, who possibly died about the time that the hunter died.<sup>2</sup> In this case, the name is clearly Thwait, and it refers to a town in Norfolk. Another form in which the name Thwait appears is Twyth, closely akin paleographically to the form Twich.<sup>3</sup> While the identity of the hunter and William de Tweyt is none too certain, it is possible that the hunter's name was Thwait.<sup>4</sup> With the hunter was associated a John Giffard, whom one would like to identify with a royal tenant-in-chief of Brimesfeld. He received many permits to chase and to take deer, usually in the forest of Dene.<sup>5</sup> On October 10, 1297, Prince Edward witnessed a grant in Giffard's favor, an apparent indication of royal interest.<sup>6</sup> One objection to this suggested identification is that this John Giffard died before June 20, 1299, before Edward actually became king.<sup>7</sup> The name John Giffard was very common, as was also that of William Giffard, the name of the author of a metrical *Apocalypse* in Anglo-Norman.<sup>8</sup> One wonders if Thwait's book was one of the twelve books on hunting which the scrivener John of London wrote out for the use of Henry V, delivering them to the King's chamber, and receiving for his labor £12 8s.<sup>9</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Ed. G. J. Turner (London, 1901; "Selden Society"), p. cxv.

<sup>2</sup> *Calendar of Ancient Deeds*, II, 125 (A 2831): "Grant by Peter de Bulneye, of Heveringlond, to John, son of William de Tweyt, for 50s, of land with a messuage that William, John's father, formerly held in Heveringlond, paying 5s 3dp yearly. Witnesses, Sir William de Gineto, Roger his brother, John Launce [and others named]." No date is given, but William de Gineto is a witness of a charter dated in 6 Ed. III (A 2741), and both William and Roger appear together somewhat earlier (A 2782). Heveringlond was in Norfolk.

<sup>3</sup> *Calendar of Close Rolls, 1272-1279*, p. 231: April 30, 1275. A William de Twyth and a John de Twyt appear. Possibly these are the same as the two mentioned in the previous note.

<sup>4</sup> Other Williams of Thwait appear, but hardly at the proper time to be identified with the hunter. *The Coucher Book of Furness Abbey*, ed. John Brownbill (Manchester, 1915, 1916, 1919; "Chetham Society," Nos. 74, 76, 78), pp. 539, 549-51, 566, 707, 772, 791, 793; ca. 1260-80. *The Register of the Priory of St. Bees*, ed. James Wilson (Durham, 1915; "Surtees Society," No. 126), pp. 89, 91, 100, 246, 364, 437, 443-44, 553, 574; ca. 1275-90. A William de Thwait of 1353 appears on p. 574.

<sup>5</sup> *Calendar of Close Rolls, 1288-1296*, p. 92; *ibid.*, 1296-1302, pp. 70, 158, 249.

<sup>6</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 68: October 10, 1297.

<sup>7</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 254. His will is given on p. 275.

<sup>8</sup> Vising, *op. cit.*, p. 51. For the Giffard Johns and Williams of this time see *William Salt Archeological Society Publications*, N.S., Preface, v.

<sup>9</sup> *Issues of Ezchequer*, ed. Frederick Devon (London, 1837; "Pell's Records"), p. 368: November 21 (9 Henry V).

## VIII

Another Anglo-Norman writer interested in hunting was Walter of Bibbysworth, a manor in the parish of Kimpton, Hertfordshire. The name of this knight appears occasionally in the rolls from 1250 to 1283, and in a very illuminating manner. He had a distinct aversion to serving in legal matters. Using as a reason his service with Nicholas de Molins in the royal service in Gascony, he was exempted from being put in assizes, juries, or recognitions as long as he was in that service.<sup>1</sup> This exemption was extended for life a little over a year later, on July 25, 1251. Perhaps the most interesting writ, from the point of view of the information it throws upon the history of Walter, is the following: "Grant, for life, to Walter de Bibbesworth, that he may course with the greyhounds, the fox and the cat through the forest of Essex, except in warrens; and that he be not made sheriff, coroner, escheator, verderer, forester, or regarder."<sup>2</sup> For many years the documents do not mention his hunting, but in 1277 he was granted free warren in his manor of Bibbysworth, and also in the manors of Saling, Latton, and Waltham in county Essex.<sup>3</sup> Finally, in 1280 the King pardoned him and other knights of the household of John de Vescy for taking two bucks in Sherwood Forest.<sup>4</sup>

Walter of Bibbysworth was, as we have seen, a man of considerable means, since he seems to have been in possession of four manors. Sometime after 1265 he received ten pounds from the estate of Baldwin de Vere in Kimpton, from the hands of his servant Eustace.<sup>5</sup> In the autumn of 1267 he was accused, along with several others, of molesting the property of Robert de Tedeshale, Sr., in Little Waltham, in the time of the civil wars; they did not appear, and the sheriff was ordered to distrain their lands.<sup>6</sup> Yet less than a year later Walter was granted the ransom of the lands of Robert le Poer which belonged to the King, according to the form of the award of Kenilworth for certain

<sup>1</sup> *Calendar of Patent Rolls, 1247-1258*, p. 58: June 18, 1250, also p. 103.

<sup>2</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 187: April 9, 1253.

<sup>3</sup> *Calendar of Charter Rolls, 1257-1300*, p. 202: January 25, 1277; *Calendarium Rotulorum Chartarum* (London, 1803), p. 106.

<sup>4</sup> *Calendar of Close Rolls, 1279-1288*, p. 19: June 5, 1280.

<sup>5</sup> *Calendar of Inquisitions, Miscellaneous, 1219-1307*, p. 711.

<sup>6</sup> *Placitorum in Domo Capitulari Westmonasteriensi asservatorum Abbreviatio, Richard I-Edward II* (London, 1811), p. 163.

acts also committed in the civil wars.<sup>1</sup> An inquest of 3 Edward I informs us that Walter had the assize of bread and beer in Saling, for which he gave the King three shillings yearly.<sup>2</sup> In 1277 Hugh de Coleworth owed a debt of thirty-eight marks to him.<sup>3</sup> Early in 1283 he wrote an Anglo-Norman letter to John de Kirkeby, a royal officer, about some business which he desired expedited,<sup>4</sup> possibly because he was preparing to leave England; for this he received, on June 4, a royal letter of protection for two years.<sup>5</sup> After this, no other mention seems to occur until August 4, 1301, when there appears a notice of an enrolment "by Henry de Pynkenye to the king . . . of the homage and service of Walter de Bibesworth for a knight's fee and all the lands that he holds of Henry in Bibesworth, co. Hartford . . . [and] . . . a fee in Shenefeld, co. Hertferd, which Walter de Bibesworth holds."<sup>6</sup> But this Walter was possibly a son to whom, one might surmise, some of the earlier items also may refer. The life-periods of the patrons of the author, Denise de Munchanesi and Henry de Lacy, make it certain that it was the Walter of Bibbysworth of about 1250-70 who was the author. There has been preserved a record of a grant by Denise which was witnessed by De Lacy.<sup>7</sup>

## IX

Peter Langtoft, the chronicler already known to be connected with Bridlington Priory, appears as a member there as early as 1291. With several other brothers he was accused by Margaret, daughter of Simon le Clerke, of burning her goods and chattels at Flemyng Burton, to the value of twenty marks.<sup>8</sup> In 1293 Archbishop John le Rόμεyn complained to the prior of Bridlington that Peter Langtoft had gone

<sup>1</sup> *Calendar of Patent Rolls, 1266-1272*, p. 241: July 5, 1268.

<sup>2</sup> *Rotuli hundredorum*, etc. (London, 1818), I, 158.

<sup>3</sup> *Calendar of Close Rolls, 1272-1279*, p. 416: April 12, 1277, Ipswich.

<sup>4</sup> *Recueil de Lettres Anglo-Françaises, 1265-1399*, ed. F. J. Tanqueray (Paris: Champion, 1916), p. 40.

<sup>5</sup> *Calendar of Patent Rolls, 1281-1292*, p. 64.

<sup>6</sup> *Calendar of Close Rolls, 1296-1302*, p. 504.

<sup>7</sup> *Joannis Lelandi Antiquarii in Rebus Britannicis Collectanea*, with notes of T. Hearne (London, 1770), I, 98.

<sup>8</sup> *Notes on the Religious and Secular Houses of Yorkshire* (1895; "Yorkshire Archeological Society," No. 17), I, 20.

south, pretending that he had archiepiscopal permission, which was not true. He demands that the prior call him back and punish him for this.<sup>1</sup>

## X

Like Langtoft, Master Henry of Avranches seems to have enjoyed a career as a wanderer and attained a reputation as a wandering poet.<sup>2</sup> An item in the Liberate Rolls tells of the ten pounds paid to him as Master Henry the Versifier, for writing the lives of the royal saints George and Edward. Inasmuch as this item is of 1244, the latter is probably *La Estorie de Seint Aedward le Rei*, dedicated to the Queen in 1245.<sup>3</sup> His use of Anglo-Norman suggests that this was a promising field for patronage.

## XI

Some information about early writers is to be expected from library catalogues. There is, for instance, the list of books of Peter of Ickham in an old catalogue of Christ Church, Canterbury; a list so long that we may assume it was his library, or a large part of it. The list follows:<sup>4</sup>

- 1538. Decretales
- 1539. Casus decretalium Bernardi
- 1540. Item casus decretalium I de Deo
- 1541. Casus decretorum W. Brixiensis
- 1542. Parabole Magistri Odonis
- In hoc vol. cont.
  - Expositiones biblie versifice
  - Anselmus de monte humilitatis
  - Hugo de abusionibus claustris
  - Gesta Salvatoris
  - Epistola Dionisii ad Thymotheum, de morte Pauli
  - Bernardus de moribus et vita honesta
  - Johannes Crisostomus de reparacione lapsi

<sup>1</sup> *The Register of John le Romeyn, Archbishop of York (1286-1296)* (Durham, 1913; "Surtees Society," No. 123), I, 229; *Historical Papers and Letters from Northern Registers*, ed. James Raine (London, 1873; "Rolls Series," No. 61), p. 101.

<sup>2</sup> For this poet see Russell, "Master Henry of Avranches as an International Poet," *Speculum*, III (January, 1928), 34-63; other references are *ibid.*, April, 1928, pp. 134, 149; *Dublin Studies* (June, 1928), pp. 296-308; *Philological Quarterly*, VIII (January, 1929), 21-38.

<sup>3</sup> *Op. cit.*, p. 56, item 2, and p. 47.

<sup>4</sup> M. R. James, *The Ancient Libraries of Canterbury and Dover* (Cambridge, 1903), p. 128: "Libri Petri de Ikham."



Libellus qui dicitur grece suda  
 Ambrosius ad Susannam Monacham de reparacione lapsi  
 Ambrosius de moribus et vita honesta  
 Dispensaciones Magistri I. de Deo  
 Tractatus de penitencia  
 Tractatus de viciis principalibus  
 Tractatus de virtutibus cardinalibus  
 Libellus de Summa Trinitate

1543. Digestum vetus

1544. Codex

1545. Instituta Iustiniani

1546. Brutus Latine et Gallice

1547. Tractatus de creacione mundi gallice

With this list before us we have no hesitancy in believing that Peter of Ickham was the author of a Latin work upon the Decretals, as an entry in an old inventory of the library of Dover Priory tells us:

263. Casus decretalium petri de ykham de dono Walteri Caustoni prioris.  
 "potius quam diminuat." <sup>1</sup>

We have then to examine the tradition, coming down to us by way of Bale, that Peter was also the author of the Anglo-Norman *Le Livre de Reis de Britannie e le Livre de Reis de Engleterre*, and that he was a monk of Canterbury.<sup>2</sup> In addition, he was also thought to have been the author of the Latin version.<sup>3</sup>

The existence of these books in the libraries of Canterbury and Dover, that is, of institutions very closely related, tends to corroborate Bale's statement that Ickham was a monk of Canterbury; it also strengthens our belief in his trustworthiness in regard to Ickham. Ickham's interest in the subject is clearly indicated by the last two items on his list of books. However, there is a possibility that Bale actually had in his hand one of these very books. Seeing the evidence of Ickham's ownership and the pressmark of the Canterbury Library, Bale may have concluded that Ickham was a monk of Canterbury and the author of the book. Bale all too frequently made very large and

<sup>1</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 425.

<sup>2</sup> *Index Britanniae scriptorum*, ed. R. L. Poole and Mary Bateson (Oxford, 1902), p. 323:

"Petrus de Ykham, Anglus scripsit  
 Genealogiam regum Anglie et Britannie li ii  
 Durat usque ad Edwardum Primum. Cantuarie morabatur.  
 Ex bibliotheca Joannis Lelandi."

<sup>3</sup> *Le Livre de Reis*, etc., ed. Glover (London, 1865: "Rolls Series"), pp. x-xlii.

unwarranted deductions. It is still possible to believe that Ickham was responsible for the annotations of an older volume. The name Petrus de Ycam turns up as that of a juror in Yorkshire who died after being summoned for service, about 1275.<sup>1</sup>

Considerable material is thus at hand from which biographical information may be derived, if we judge by thirteenth-century standards. Some of it is tentative and awaits additional information from manuscript sources. This is especially true of Henry d'Arcei, Brykhulle, Roau d'Arundel, and Walter of Henley. It is probable that of the authors Ralph of Lenham was a landowner, possibly a knight, and that William of Waddington was a priest of Rydal; but even these probable identifications do little more than locate them in time and place. The items about Master Peter of Peckham give fuller information: about his legal difficulties, his holdings and loans, and his books. William of Thwait was a professional hunter, while Walter de Bibbysworth was a gentleman amateur in the same sport, who also dodged as many civic duties as possible. Peter of Langtoft apparently indulged in acts upon which both royal and archiepiscopal authority frowned. From the experience of the widely traveled Henry of Avranches we may assume that many an author who dedicated his work to the Lady had at least one eye upon the Lord, and received the reward from him. A canon lawyer by training, Peter of Ickham had some interest in the tales of Brut and of Arthur. A very human lot these Anglo-Norman authors seem to have been!

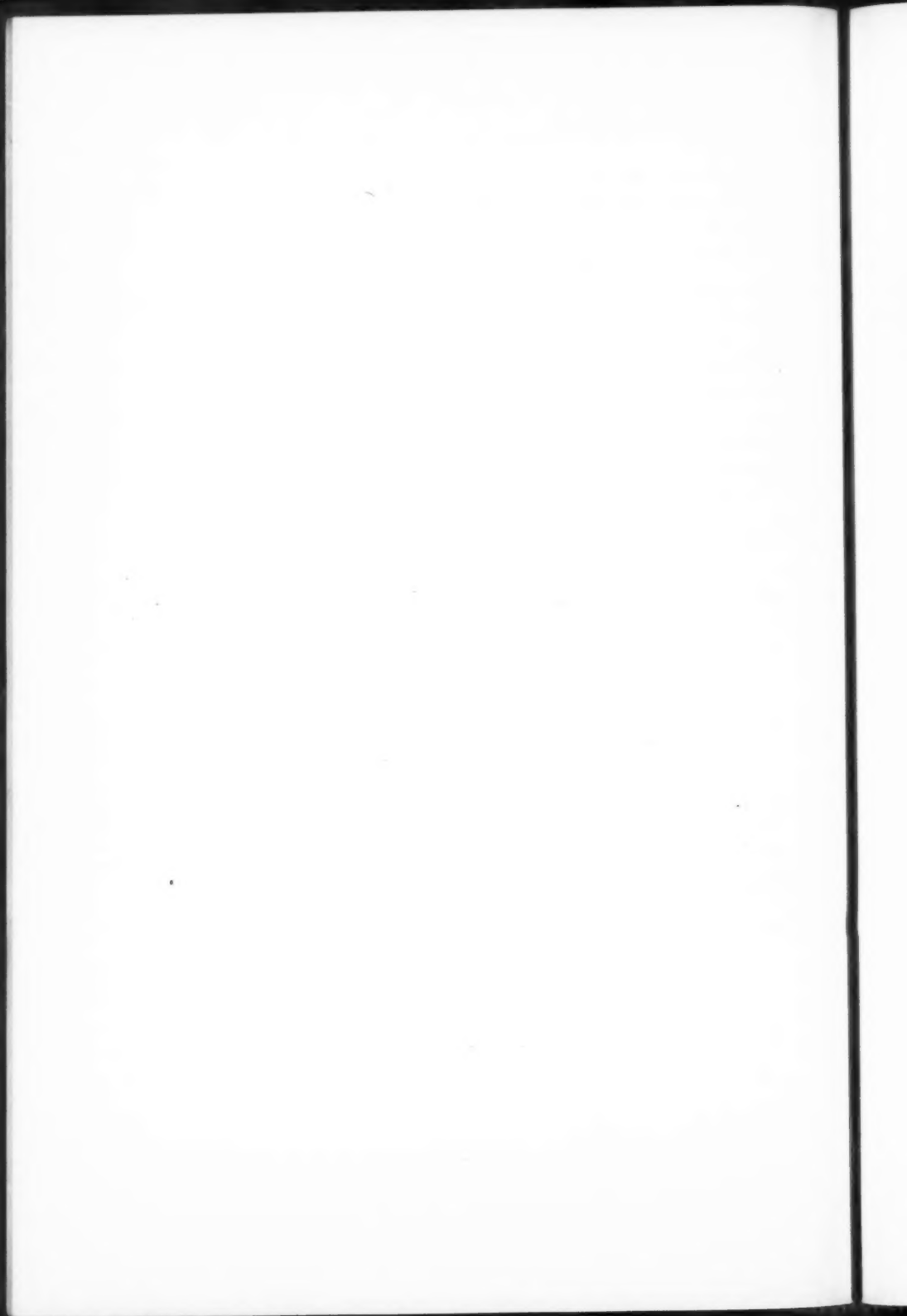
#### INDEX OF ANGLO-NORMAN WRITERS

Brykhulle . . . . .	I	Roau d'Arundel . . . . .	II
Henry of Avranches . . . . .	X	Walter of Bibbysworth . . . . .	VIII
Peter of Ickham . . . . .	XI	Walter of Henley . . . . .	III
Peter Langtoft . . . . .	IX	William Twety, Twich, or Twici . . . . .	VII
Peter of Peckham . . . . .	VI	William of Waddington . . . . .	V
Ralph of Lenham . . . . .	IV		

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<sup>1</sup> *Rotuli hundredorum*, I, 284 (3 Edward I). If it were certain that Ickham was a monk of Canterbury, this juror must be excluded, for he must then have been a monk at his death, and would certainly not have been summoned as a juror. As long as the possibility that he was not a monk remains open, this man is to be remembered. In any case the juror might have been a relative, for names tended to run in families.



# THE FOLIATION OF GEILER VON KAISERSBERG'S NARRENSCHIFF

IN 1498, four years after the appearance of Sebastian Brant's *Narrenschiff*, Johannes Geiler von Kaisersberg, the great Straszburg preacher, helped to popularize his friend's book by preaching a series of one hundred and forty-six sermons based upon it. According to his usual custom, he did not publish these sermons, nor did he even leave them in a form for publication but probably only in manuscript notes from which he was accustomed to preach. In 1510, the year of Geiler's death, this series of sermons appeared in print for the first time. This edition is a Latin translation, prepared by Jacob Otther and printed by Matthias Schürer in Straszburg.<sup>1</sup> A second edition appeared in 1511, printed by Johann Prüss the Elder in Straszburg, which differs from the first only in its title-page and in the fact that it is ornamented with the woodcuts of Locher's 1498 edition of Sebastian Brant's *Narrenschiff*. In 1513 a third edition appeared in the printshop of Johannes Knoblauch in Straszburg, which seems to be a reprint of the 1510 edition and differs from it only in the slightest details.<sup>2</sup>

A German translation by Johann Pauli appeared in 1520 in the shop of Johann Grüninger in Straszburg. This is a beautiful folio edition with a title-page in red bordered in black and illustrated with the same hundred and thirteen woodcuts as the 1511 Latin edition arranged in a different order. It is bound in thirty-six signatures of six leaves each, making a total of two hundred and sixteen leaves. These are very irregularly numbered from II to CCXXIII, the last number appearing by error as CXXIII. Leaves VII and VIII are missing entirely. The signatures are designated A-Z, a-o, and signature B is lacking. These defects are not peculiar to a few copies of this book but are apparently characteristic of the entire edition.<sup>3</sup>

<sup>1</sup> The 1510 (Schürer) and 1513 (Knoblauch) editions of the *Navicula fatuorum* are in the University of Chicago Library; the 1511 (Prüss) edition is in the Newberry Library, Chicago.

<sup>2</sup> An earlier edition than any of these is mentioned in the *Amoenitates friburgenses*, p. 75. This, however, appears to be the 1499 edition of Brant's *Narrenschiff*.

<sup>3</sup> Cf. Leo Dacheux, *Les plus anciens écrits de Geiler* (Colmar, 1882), p. clxvi: "Les fol. VII et VIII manquent ainsi que toute la feuille B, au moins dans les exemplaires à nous connus. La pagination est très fautive."

While the faulty pagination seems to have no bearing on the missing signature B, it is worth at least a moment's digression. The leaves are numbered in Roman numerals in the upper corner of the right-hand page. Up to LXII there are no errors with the exception of a very significant omission near the beginning, which is to be discussed later. From LXIII the compositor skips to LXXVI, LXXVII, LXXVIII, then returns to the proper sequence LXVII, LXVIII. The higher the numbers run the more errors appear; in at least six instances they are formed of quite impossible combinations of letters, e.g., CICIH. There is a total of fifty-eight mistakes in the pagination. It is remarkable, however, that after each series of three or four incorrect numbers the proper sequence is again resumed and carried for a few pages. The obvious explanation is that the compositor was unfamiliar with the use of Roman numerals and that his work was checked only occasionally by someone who substituted the correct numbers.

In order to arrive at an explanation for the missing signature B a tabulation of the first three signatures is necessary (see Table I).

TABLE I

Signature	Number of Leaves	Foliation *
A.....	6	—, 2, 3, 4, 5, —
C.....	6	9, 10, 11, 12, 13, 14
D.....	6	15, 22, 23, 24, 25, 26

\* Arabic numerals are used for convenience in this tabulation but the book uses Roman numerals throughout.

After signature D the leaves are numbered in proper sequence from XXVII to LXII, and from there on we find the errors described in the preceding paragraph. The first leaf of signature A is the title-page, which is unnumbered and bears no signature mark in its lower right-hand corner; its reverse is white. On page IIa is the beginning of the Index, which runs without interruption or error to the bottom of page Vb. The following leaf is not numbered. It is attached to the unnumbered first page of the signature, the title-page, and bound into the signature by means of a strip of thin cardboard; it is then clearly a cancel. On its right-hand page is the continuation of the Index, but there are at least two and possibly three lines missing between the end of page Vb and the beginning of this page. The last two lines on page Vb read:

Die cxii predig sagt von dē Schmeichel  
narren/ein loben von dē bösen/loben

The next page begins as follows:

Die cxiii predig sagt von Blasznarren  
böses von andern sagen/oder hören/oder  
glauben/nachreden mag verdienlich sein/mag  
todsünd sein. etc. cxevi

The page number cxevi belongs to the sermon on *Schmeichelnarren*; the number with *Blasznarren* should be cxevii. The compositor not only omitted the first two or three lines of the page which should have concluded the description of the *Schmeichelnarren* but also erred in the number which he assigned to the *Blasznarren*.

There is only one explanation for an error of this sort. It is evident that the leaf which has been inserted after V has been reset, not from the original copy, but from the page which had been previously set up. Only in a process of resetting from a completed page is it possible to make typographical errors of the nature encountered here. The omission of the number in the upper right-hand corner of the leaf corroborates the theory that the page has been reset. No other leaf in the book, with exception of the title-page, is unnumbered, and the omission in the case of the inserted page surely must have occurred in the process of resetting. We may therefore be certain that we are dealing with a cancel page which, for reasons to become evident later, was reset after the book had been printed but before it was bound.

On the left-hand page of this inserted leaf is a dedicatory poem, thirty-one lines in length, by Onofrius Brant. The poem, which is in German, was, as appears from its content, composed for this occasion. Since it is complete on one page and has no connection with either the preceding or the following page, there is no internal evidence to prove whether this side of the inserted leaf was reset or not.

The following leaf is numbered IX and the signature mark on the bottom of the page is C. On this page is the beginning of the text proper, preceded by a few introductory lines in which Johann Pauli explains his method of translating. From here on the pagination is in proper order up to the strange jump from XV to XXII at the beginning of signature D. It has previously been pointed out that all later errors in pagination are rectified throughout at intervals, so that, in spite of numerous mistakes, the numbers come out right in the end. The omission of leaves VII and VIII and of XVI-XXI, inclusive, however,

is not rectified, so that, although the leaves are numbered up to CCXXIII, the book contains only 216 leaves. It can therefore be safely assumed that the person who made the sporadic corrections in pagination, presumably a foreman in the shop or perhaps Johann Grüninger himself, expected the book to contain 224 leaves and numbered the pages accordingly.

If the evidence up to this point has been correctly interpreted, either the missing signature B must have consisted of eight leaves and signature A of six, or signature A must originally have had eight leaves which were later reduced to six. That all the remaining signatures in the book are in-6 does not preclude the possibility of one being in-8. It was printing custom in the early sixteenth century to bind books in signatures of varying sizes.<sup>1</sup> The foliation of signature A at once disposes of the second alternative mentioned above. If the signature originally contained eight leaves its middle folios would be numbered IV and V instead of III and IV.

The following problems now present themselves: What were the contents of the pages following the Index? Why were they omitted after the balance of the book had been printed? Why was it necessary to reset the last page of the Index?

Before approaching the solution of these problems it is necessary to point out the perfectly obvious fact that the Index could not be set until the composition of the entire text was complete. It was necessary, therefore, for the printer to estimate the number of pages that would be required by the Index and by any other material that was to precede the text. His original estimate allowed for two signatures of four leaves each. The compositor accordingly began the text with signature C and page IX. An entire signature of six leaves was set up and printed. No printing office at that time possessed a sufficient amount of type to set up an entire book at once; consequently a signature of four, six, or eight leaves was set up and printed and the forms were then torn down and the types distributed for further use. Errors in pagination could therefore not be corrected. If, then, after

<sup>1</sup> The foliation of a few of Geiler's other works printed about this time will serve as an illustration: *Passio domini* (Knoblauch, 1506), 5 in-6, 1 in-4; *ibid.* (Grüninger, 1509), 2 in-4, 4 in-6; *ibid.* (Hupfuff, 1513), 5 in-6, 1 in-4; *Predigen Teutsch* (Ottmar, 1508), 11 in-8, 11 in-6, 1 in-4; *Fragmenta passionis* (Schürer, 1508), 9 in-4, 2 in-6, 5 in-8; *De oratione dominica* (Schürer, 1509), 9 in-4, 4 in-6, 4 in-8. (All these books are in the University of Chicago Library.)



leaf XV had been set it was decided to add another six leaves to the material preceding the text proper, the obvious way of adjusting the pagination was to add 6, number the next leaf XXII and continue. This is the procedure which the printer seems to have followed here. It explains the discrepancy between the pagination and the actual number of leaves in the book. This discrepancy cannot be regarded as being due to an oversight when we recall that all later errors in pagination are adjusted from time to time in such a manner that practically every signature ends with its proper page number—always plus 8, of course.

It can now be regarded as definitely established that provision was made for a total of fourteen leaves including the Index and preceding the text proper. It remains to be shown that the contents of the eight leaves now missing were actually set up and printed and that they were then eliminated before the binding of the book.

A comparison between the German edition of 1520 and the three Latin editions of 1510, 1511, and 1513, respectively, reveals the fact that the latter contain some material which has been omitted from the German version. On the reverse of the title-page in the edition of 1510 is a dedication by the Latin translator, Jacob Otther, to Johann Wydell.<sup>1</sup> The following four leaves (eight pages) are devoted to a brief summary of the sermons,<sup>2</sup> and this in turn is followed by the Index. At the conclusion of the text is a six-leaf unpaginated signature containing a biographical sketch of Geiler by Beatus Rhenanus Selestatinus, his epitaph and the epitaph of the humanist Thomas Wolf.<sup>3</sup> The edition of 1511 contains substantially the same additional material as the preceding one, with the exception that the introductory summary bears a different title.<sup>4</sup> The only difference between the 1513 edition and the one of 1510 is that the biographical sketch in the former is printed in Gothic type instead of Roman and therefore occupies slightly more space.

The eight leaves which are missing from our German *Narrenschiff* may thus have contained either the summary of the sermons which the Latin editions place at the very beginning of the book, or the bio-

<sup>1</sup> "Reverendo domino Joanni wydell ex Gersbach fratrum ordinis beati Benedicti in Schuterana eremo. . . . Abbati . . . . Jacobus Ottherus. . . . Ex Argen. iij. Idus Februarij. Ann. M.D.X."

<sup>2</sup> "Summarū sive breviariū Speculi fatuorū."

<sup>4</sup> "Turmarum annotatio."

<sup>3</sup> Died in Rome, October 9, 1509.

graphical sketch which they place at the conclusion. The summary, however, it will be remembered, occupies only four leaves in the Latin editions and would not exceed five leaves even in German translation and Gothic type. The biographical sketch, on the other hand, occupies six leaves in two of the Latin editions and seven in the other and might well be expected to cover eight leaves in German translation. The proper place for the summary, moreover, is before and not after the Index. But the pagination and signature markings of the Index clearly show that nothing preceded these pages. These two considerations eliminate the summary as the material that was intended for the missing eight leaves.

There now remains the biographical sketch of Geiler which the three Latin versions print at the conclusion of the book. As shown above, the length of this sketch is such that it would approximately have filled the missing leaves. An important clue is found in a brief note by Dacheux to the effect that the "Vita Geileri" has been removed from many of the copies of the 1510 Latin edition.<sup>1</sup> If there was reason for deleting the "Vita" from the Latin edition which was accessible only to the clergy and a limited number of learned individuals, it was even more urgent that any objectionable utterances should be removed from a German version which would have far wider circulation.

It is not difficult to find the passages that must have been offensive to the censors of the hierarchy. Beatus Rhenanus, the humanist, the friend and associate of Jacob Wimpfeling, Thomas Wolf, and Judocus Gallus in their violent attacks against the corruptions in the church, does not mince words in describing the reformatory activities of Geiler. In the offending passages<sup>2</sup> Beatus Rhenanus shows the strong con-

<sup>1</sup> Dacheux, *op. cit.*, p. cxv: "La Vita Geileri manque dans bien des exemplaires."

<sup>2</sup> From *Navicula sive speculum fatuorum* (Strasburg, 1510). Since the pagination ends before the "Vita Geileri," no page references can be given.

"Talis enim eius oratio erat qualis vita, non inquam eorum more faciebat, qui foris sunt Catones, intus Sardanapali; et qui alienos nevos carpentes, intercutibus ipsi vitilis scatent. De abstinentia disputans, ipse leiunabat, castitatem laudans, castitatem servabat, sacerdotium pluralitem damnans, uno contentus vivebat. . . .

"Utinam atque utinam nostro aevo sacerdotes nonnulli literis operam navarent, ne divinarum et humanarum iuxta ignari, asino apud Gabriam mythologum sacra deferenti, eamque ob rem a praetereuntibus honore affecto, persimiles existerent. Sed quid aethiopum lavo? . . .

"Quin primores ecclesiasticos qui dignitatibus magnisque plurium sacerdotiorum censibus pollent, sed his abutuntur aut meretriculas foventes, aut ventrem pro deo statuentes, graviter insectabatur. . . .

"Peragebat sacrificium in aede virginum Vestalium, quas Poenitentes vocant, has, cum luxu et delictis diffuerent, nec pudicitia sic tuta satis videretur, sub arctiorem vivendi regulam redegit. . . ."

trast between Geiler and the average type of the clergy—a contrast which is highly unfavorable to the latter. "His life," he says in substance, "was like his preaching; he was not like some who are Catos before the world but Sardanapali in their hearts. When he preached abstinence or chastity he practiced these virtues; when he condemned pluralising of benefices, he contented himself with one." Geiler's attack on the custom of pluralizing was a particularly sore point to the higher clergy. Rhenanus now speaks of Geiler's erudition and impulsively utters this wish: "O that in our time some of the priests might devote themselves to letters, lest, remaining in ignorance of both divine and human things, they resemble the ass in the Gabrian fable which was honored by the bystanders merely because it carried sacred things on its back.<sup>1</sup> But why wash the Ethiopian?" The figure of speech may be a little confused but there can be no doubt as to the writer's meaning. A little farther on he devotes a few well-chosen words to the priests who neglect their parishes but keep courtesans and set their bellies up as their god. And finally he speaks of Geiler's efforts, as official priest of the order, on behalf of the "vestal virgins whom they call the Penitents, whose modesty did not appear quite safe."

Such utterances might pass uncensored and unheeded as long as they were made in Latin and therefore remained, so to speak, more or less in the family. But the matter looked quite different when these thoughts were expressed in good Straszburg dialect. It is impossible to imagine any ecclesiastical censor approving such observations.

Another element may also have entered into the censor's decision to delete the "Vita Geileri" from the German edition. The *Narrenschiff* appeared in 1520, two years after the Lutheran Reformation. At a very early date after the Reformation the Lutherans began to claim a number of humanists and other scholars and writers as fore-runners of the Reformation. Among these were Brant, Wimpheling, Geiler, Cusanus, and others. In 1556 Flacius Illyricus published his *Catalogus testium veritatis*, a list of those men who were regarded by

<sup>1</sup> The fable to which he refers is one of the Aesopean paraphrases by the Greek writer Babrias. Cf. *Babrii Fabulae Aesopeae* (rec. Otto Crusius, Lips, 1897), No. 163. The form Gabrias is not an error on the part of Beatus Rhenanus, but was current throughout the Middle Ages. Little is as yet known regarding the origin of this form but it seems to appear for the first time in the ninth century in connection with Ignatius Magister, a Greek imitator of Babrias.

the Lutherans as early reformers. This list includes Geiler. A great deal of literature has been devoted to attempts to wash Geiler clear of this charge.<sup>1</sup> Such characteristics as Beatus Rhenanus gives Geiler in the biography would have lent authority to any claim which the Lutherans might have laid to his name. While there is no contemporary evidence to show that Geiler was already regarded as a forerunner of the Reformation as early as 1520, it would have been to the advantage of the Roman hierarchy to cast no doubts upon his loyalty.

Now to return to the missing signature B. If the original plan of the book provided for a signature B of eight leaves, the first four signatures in tabulation would present the picture shown in Table II.

TABLE II

Signature	Number of Leaves	Foliation
A .....	6	—, 2, 3, 4, 5, 6
B .....	8	7, 8, 9, 10, 11, 12, 13, 14
C .....	6	15, 16, 17, 18, 19, 20
D .....	6	21, 22, 23, 24, 25, 26

Compared with the tabulation of signatures A-D, as they actually appear, it is apparent that the pagination now comes out right. It will be noted that in the tabulation of this theoretical original arrangement page VI has been numbered. On its right side was the conclusion of the Index, connecting properly with the last line of the preceding page. On its reverse was the Introduction to Beatus Rhenanus' biographical sketch. In its bulkier German form it occupied all the pages of signature B, ending on the right-hand side of page XIV. On the reverse of this leaf was the dedicatory poem by Onofrius Brant.

The book lay ready for binding when the order to eliminate the "Vita Geileri" was given. It was easy enough to remove the entire eight pages of signature B, but the first page of the Introduction to the "Vita" was on the reverse of page VI, the last leaf of signature A, and this leaf was part of the sheet that included the title-page. Page VI was therefore cut off from the title-page. It was now necessary to reprint the last page of the Index, but the type for this had already been distributed. It was therefore reset, using the printed page as copy. In the setting the compositor omitted the first two or three

<sup>1</sup> Cf. Philipp de Lorenzi, *Geilers von Kaisersberg ausgewählte Schriften* (Trier, 1881), pp. 9 ff. Also Lucien Pflieger, "Geiler von Kaisersberg und die Bibel," *Archiv für eldsassische Kirchengeschichte*, I (1926), 119 ff.

lines of the page and also the page number. On the reverse of the page was printed the dedicatory poem which had originally been on the reverse of page XIV. The leaf was then pasted to the title-page by means of a thin strip of cardboard and was bound into the signature A, leaving the book in the condition in which we now find it.

A final interesting conjecture arises out of the fact that the "Vita Geileri" has been cut from many but not all copies of the Latin edition of 1510 of the *Navicula*. If the censor had ordered it removed at the time of publication it would surely have been eliminated from all copies. The fact that some copies were preserved intact seems to indicate that the order was not given until a part of the edition had been sold. It is just possible that the attention of the censor was not drawn to the *Navicula* until the time of the publication of the *Narrenschiff* in 1520, and that then Schürer was ordered to cut the "Vita" out of all copies of the Latin book remaining in his stock. That the editions of 1511 and 1513 escaped a similar fate may be accounted for by the fact that these were not printed by either Grüninger or Schürer and therefore passed unnoticed or did not fall under the jurisdiction of the censor. In this connection it may also be significant that the first twelve pages of Geiler's *Sermones Prestantissimi*, printed by Grüninger in 1514, are missing.<sup>1</sup> These pages were not omitted in binding, as in the *Narrenschiff*, but were ripped out afterward. Whether they also contained Beatus Rhenanus' biographical sketch can not, of course, be ascertained without separate investigation.

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<sup>1</sup> Cf. Dacheux, *op. cit.*, p. cxxv: "Dans tous les ex. de 1514 que nous avons trouvés, manquent les 12 premiers feuillets." *Sermones Prestantissimi*, ed. 1514, is in the University of Chicago Library.



## THEORIES OF REVENGE IN RENAISSANCE ENGLAND

**D**RAMA can never be explained solely by its relation to its dramatic forbears, for the fostering environment of local and contemporary ideas has always to be reckoned as a determining influence also. Yet modern critics have tended to explain the revenge play of the English Renaissance almost exclusively in terms of its relation to Senecan tragedy. The vital interest which the thinkers of the period took in the subject of revenge has been left unconsidered for the most part, and the general philosophy of revenge has been unexplored. Even Professor Adams can write in his recent edition of *Hamlet*:

Yet some persons, in their attempts to explain why Hamlet delayed in his task, say that Shakespeare desired to represent the principle of taking justice into one's own hands as morally wrong, and hence makes Hamlet averse to the idea of revenge. That theory, however, the implication of the whole play denies. . . . The notion that it was morally wrong for a son to avenge his father's murder . . . was not entertained in Hamlet's time. On the contrary, revenge was believed to be necessary to the eternal rest of the murdered one. . . . We must be careful not to import into the play modern conceptions of ethical propriety. To the people of his own time, and even to the audience of the Elizabethan age, Hamlet was called upon to perform a "dread" (=sacred) duty.<sup>1</sup>

Of Hamlet's time I am not venturing to speak, and I am sure that Professor Adams would be the last to insist that Shakespeare ever tried to portray a moral order in which he did not believe. I am, therefore, not speaking of Hamlet's age in Denmark but of the period in England during which *Hamlet* was written when I take issue with this statement of Professor Adams, venturing to affirm that there was a persistent condemnation of revenge in the ethical teaching of Shakespeare's England, a condemnation which was logically posited and logically defended.

This attitude toward revenge was based securely upon two verses from the Epistle to the Romans: "Recompense to no man evil for evil. . . . Dearly beloved, avenge not yourselves, but rather give

<sup>1</sup> Ed. J. Q. Adams (1929), p. 211.



place unto wrath; for it is written, Vengeance is mine, I will repay, saith the Lord."<sup>1</sup> Socrates, Alexander, Epictetus, Seneca, Theophrastus, Plutarch were found to bear witness to the same effect, but the fundamental teaching was that of the Scriptures.

It must be noted, however, that the teaching of the Scriptures seemed to the Elizabethans to include both a command and a promise; not only did God forbid man to recompense evil for evil; he also proclaimed vengeance as his own prerogative, and he proclaimed the everlasting truth that he would repay. No consideration of the attitude toward revenge can, then, be complete which does not see the complementary nature of these two principles which must forever govern man's attitude toward revenge. Thus Geoffrey Fenton writes in his *Golden Epistles*:

May we holde anger against such as have done us some notable injurie, and published dishonest speeche of us? I say no, for that according to the rule of the Gospell we are bounde to pardon all wronges, and leave the reveng to God to whom it belongs.<sup>2</sup>

"*I will repay, saith the Lord.*" This was the threat, this the promise which the Renaissance found in the tragedies which were its inheritance from the Middle Ages, and this was the text to the exposition and illustration of which were dedicated the great collections of tragedies which continued the stories of the *Fall of Princes*. I can do no more here than mention the titles of the most conspicuous of them: the *Mirror for Magistrates*<sup>3</sup> in its various parts, Richard Robinson's *Reward of Wickedness*,<sup>4</sup> Antony Munday's *Mirror of Mutability*,<sup>5</sup> Thomas Beard's *Theatre of Gods Judgements*,<sup>6</sup> Edmund Rudierd's *Thunderbolts of Gods Wrath*,<sup>7</sup> John Reynolds' *Triumph of Gods Revenge against the crying and execrable Sinne of Murder*,<sup>8</sup> and the same author's *Gods Revenge against the Abominable Sinne of Adultery*.<sup>9</sup> Even the titles serve to indicate the fundamental teaching of these *exempla*

<sup>1</sup> 12:17 and 19; cf. Deut. 23:35.

<sup>2</sup> *Golden Epistles, Contayning varietie of discourses both Morall, Philosophicall, and Divine: gathered as well out of the remaynder of Guevaras workes, as other Authours, Latine, French, and Italian* (1575), fol. 43.

<sup>3</sup> Parts published first in 1559, 1563, 1574, and 1578.

<sup>4</sup> 1574.

<sup>7</sup> 1618.

<sup>5</sup> 1579.

<sup>8</sup> Vol. I (1621); Vol. II (1622); Vol. III (1624).

<sup>6</sup> 1579, 1612, 1631.

<sup>9</sup> 1669.

—the teaching that God's vengeance pursues sin and makes comprehensible the fall of princes and the fickle ways of fortune.<sup>1</sup>

The teaching concerning God's vengeance is also amply manifest in the literature which accounted for the plagues and famines and disasters, public and private, which Barckley's *Felicitie of Man* called "the whippes and scourges wherewith God useth to punish the sinnes of men."<sup>2</sup> Batman's great compilation, *The Doome warning all men to the Judgemente*, presented an overpowering array of such instances, combining with the account of the disasters visited upon men an account of those prodigies which foretokened such manifestations of God's vengeance. The dedicatory prayer explains Batman's general idea:

Geve grace, most holy Father, to all that shall reade the same, that they may perceive to what end thy gracious goodnesse hath pretended this worke as a fragment among other moste holy edictions, to warne this later age, by the comming and dayly appearing of unaccustomed prodigies, to be the onely foretoken of mans destruction for sinnes, as in the time of olde, hayles, fires from heaven, thunderinges, Eclipses, blasing starres, Elementall shewes of armies, raining of blood, milke, stones, earth, figures of dead bodyes, and instrumentes of warre, besides dreadfull voyces, after sundrye manners: On the Earth deformed shapes both of men, byrdes, beastes, and fishes after which of every of these death of princes, alteration of kingdomes, transmutations of religion, treasons, murthers, thefte, incest, whoredome, Idolatrie, usurie, revenge, persecution, sworde, fyre, famine, hunger, death and damnation, presently followed.<sup>3</sup>

The same work admonishes the "gentle Reader" to mark "with a true and godly minde" "those true prodigies whiche are moste assured tokens of Gods wrath and vengeance, & whiche the falling out of the thing for so many hundred yeares hath declared. . . ." It is perhaps well to note that the Elizabethan was not interested in these prodigies as atmosphere for tragedy, and he would certainly have been much surprised had he been accused of indulging in the pathetic fallacy.

<sup>1</sup> For an analysis of the changing attitudes toward this idea see my *Shakespeare's Tragic Heroes: Slaves of Passion* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1930), pp. 1-16.

<sup>2</sup> Richard Barckley, *A Discourse of the Felicitie of Man: or his Summum bonum* (1598), p. 441.

<sup>3</sup> *The Doome warning all men to the Judgemente: Wherein are containyed for the most parte all the straunge Prodigies hapned in the Worlde, with divers secrete figures of Revelations tending to mannes stayed conversion towards God: In maner of a generall Chronicle, gathered out of sundrie approved authors by St. Batman professor in Divinitie* (1581), p. 384.

Rather he saw prodigies with deep concern because he viewed them as related to the appearance of those calamities which God hurled upon men in wrath;<sup>1</sup> and hence prodigies appear in the literature of the day as well as in the dramas of Shakespeare and his contemporaries as warning of God's vengeance.

Even more important in this study are the remainders of a great pamphlet literature which was concerned with individual cases demonstrating the working of God's vengeance.<sup>2</sup> I quote briefly from one of these pamphlets, *The Cry and Revenge of Blood*, in which the author, Thomas Cooper, points the moral of his tale:

Surely where man usually ends, there God beginneth: and while the wicked slept securely, the vengeance of God was bestirring itselfe. Behold, saith the prophet, when the Lord makes inquisition for blood, hee remembers it, and forgets not the complaint of the poore: the blood of these murdered soules cried loude in the eares of the Lord. . . .<sup>3</sup>

Thomas Kyd's *The Murder of John Brewen* emphasizes the same theme:

The Lord give all men grace by their example to shunne the hatefull sinne of murder, for be it kept never so close, and done never so secret, yet at length the Lorde will bring it out; for bloud is an incessant crier in the eares of the Lord, and he will not leave so vilde a thing unpunished.<sup>4</sup>

Shakespeare thus represents Macbeth as echoing the theory demonstrated in these tales when he recognizes the portent of Banquo's ghost:

It will have blood, they say; blood will have blood.  
Stones have been known to move and trees to speak;  
Augures and understood relations have  
By maggot-pies and choughs and rooks brought forth  
The secret'st man of blood.<sup>5</sup>

<sup>1</sup> One of the most interesting of the tracts concerning such prodigies is, of course, *A discourse upon the Earthquake that hapned through this Realme of Englande, and other places of Christendom, the first of Aprill. 1580. between the houres of five and six in the Evening* (1580). It is interesting because it is supposed to relate to that earthquake referred to in *Romeo and Juliet*, I, iii, 23, but it is also interesting because of its exposition of this same theory:

"For the tryed experience of all ages teacheth us, and the wrytings of the wise and lerned (specially of holie Scripture) so assuredly witnes unto us, that such tokens are infallible forewarnings of Gods sore displeasure for sinne, & of his just plagues for the same, where amendement of lyfe ensueth not."

<sup>2</sup> One of these pamphlets, interesting because of its incidental comment on tragicomedie in its title is Gascoigne's *The Glaasse of Governement. A tragicall comedie so entituled, bycause therein are handled as well the rewardes for Vertues, as also the punishment for Vices* (1575).

<sup>3</sup> Thomas Cooper, *The Cry and Revenge of Blood. Expressing the Nature and haynousnesse of wilfull Murther. Exemplified in a most lamentable History thereof, committed at Halfworth in High Suffolke, and lately convicted at Bury Assize, 1620* (1620).

<sup>4</sup> *The Works of Thomas Kyd*, ed. F. S. Boas (1901), p. 293.

<sup>5</sup> *Macbeth*, III, iv, 122-26.

Shakespeare argues also in *Henry V* that war is oftentimes the instrument of God's vengeance:

There is no king, be his cause never so spotless, if it come to the arbitrament of swords, can try it out with all unspotted soldiers. Some peradventure have on them the guilt of premeditated and contrived murder; some, of be-guiling virgins with the broken seals of perjury; some, making the wars their bulwark, that have before gored the gentle bosom of Peace with pillage and robbery. Now if these men have defeated the law and outrun native punishment, though they can outstrip men, they have no wings to fly from God. War is his beadle, war is his vengeance; so that here men are punish'd for before-breach of the King's laws in now the King's quarrel.<sup>1</sup>

The subordinate themes which act as corollaries to this supreme theme of God's inevitable vengeance for sin are familiar in the drama and the philosophy of the period: that murder though it have no tongue will speak, that the murderer himself will reveal himself if no one else finds out his guilt, that God's vengeance may be delayed but is nevertheless sure. It is to the consideration of this last problem, the problem of God's delay, that the philosophers most often addressed themselves. For the most part they but echoed the all-important teaching of Plutarch in his discourse on "How It Commeth that the Divine Justice deferreth other-whiles the punishment of Wicked Persons":<sup>2</sup>

. . . . Wherefore if we perceive him to proceed slowly, and in tract of time to lay his heave hand upon the wicked, and to punish them, it is not for any doubt or feare that he should doe amisse, or repent afterward if he chasticed them sooner, but by warnings from all beastly violence, & hastiness in our punishments. . . .

Plutarch pointed out that

wickednesse in gendering within itselfe (I wot not what) displeasure and punishment, not after a sinfull act is committed, but even at the very instant of committing, it beginneth to suffer the pain due to the offence: neither is there a malefactour, but when he seeth others like himself punished in their bodies, beareth forth his own crosse; whereas mischievous wickednesse frameth of herself, the engines of her owne torment, as being a wonderfull artisan of a miserable life, which (together with shame and reproch) hath in it lamentable calamities, many terrible frights, fearfull perturbations and passions of the spirit, remorse of conscience, desperate repentance and continual troubles and inquietnesse.

<sup>1</sup> IV, 1, 167-80.

<sup>2</sup> The essay was one of those printed in *The Philosophie, commonlie called, The Morals. Written by the learned Philosopher Plutarch of Chaeronea. Translated out of Greeke into Englishe by Philemon Holland, 1603.*

And he added further:

For the visions by night in dreames, the fantastick apparitions in the day time, the answers of oracles, the prodigious signes from heaven, and in one word, whatsoever men think to be done immediately by the will and finger of God, are wont to strike great troubles and horrors into such persons so affected, and whose consciences are burdened with the guilt and privie of sinne.

Similarly Beard wrote in his *Theatre of Gods Judgements*:

For though it may seeme for a time that God sleepeth, and regardeth not the wrongs and oppression of his servants, yet he never faileth to carry a watchfull eie upon them, and in his fittest time to revenge himselfe upon their enemies.<sup>1</sup>

Likewise the *French Academie* admonished its readers:

The change of monarchies, estates, and kingdoms proceeded alwaies of vice. *Roboam* through want of prudence, *Sardanapalus* through intemperancy and luxuriousnes, the last French king of the race of *Clovis* through retchlesnes, *Perses* of Macedonia thorough rashnes, with infinite others, whose examples we shall see heerafter, lost their kingdoms through vices. But that we may yet have greater occasion to hate and shun this horrible monster of nature, let us know that vice chasticeth itselfe. Which is not done onely by mans law, out of which the mightier sort (as *Anacharsis* said) escape as great flies that breake through the spiders web, the punishment also of which may oftentimes be avoided for a time, but even the paine followeth the offence so neere, that it is equall unto it both for age and time. For from that very instant wherein wickednes is committed, she frameth for and of hir selfe hir owne torment, and beginneth to suffer the paine of hir mischievous deede through the remorse thereof. This is that worme that continually gnaweth the conscience of a malefactor and accompanieth his miserable life with shame and confusion, with frights, perturbations, anguish, and continuall disquietnes, even to his very dreams, so that all his life time he is destitute of all tranquillitie and rest of spirit, wherein only humane felicitie consisteth. . . . Truly that man feareth nothing, whose soule being free from all notorious crimes, followeth the will of God, who directeth all counsels to good. But (as *Plato* saith) there is nothing that maketh a man so fearefull, as the remembrance of his life passed in shame. Yea presently after the offence (saith *Justin Martyr*) the conscience of a wicked man is unto him in stead of an accuser, a witnes, a judge, and a hangman. This is that, which the scripture teacheth us in *Leviticus*, saying, that the wicked shal tremble at the fall of the leafe of a tree, & that they shall be as if their life hung by a thread. We ought to be persuaded that this violence of mans conscience cometh from God, who causeth his enimies to feelee his judgement and furie

<sup>1</sup> *Op. cit.*, p. 56.

in such sort, that they cannot abide it, but are constrained to condemne themselves. And if our hart condemne us, God is greater than our hart. Now although the word should wholie faile in this, yet we have the testimonie of nature imprinted with such characters in our harts, that it did even compell the ancient poets to finde out and to faigne *Furies*, as revengers of our sins, which are nothing else but the torments of evill consciences. . . . Let us not then suppose that, although a wicked act may be hidden and kept close from men, therefore the torment is the lesse, (which a wise man never thinketh of, knowing that he ought to be in more reverence of himselfe than of others) but rather more greivous within us, not for the only feare of worldly shame or punishment, but for the apprehension of the just judgement of God, from whom nothing is hid. He pursueth the wicked hard at the heeles for the most part, and knoweth how to take vengeance of their iniquitie in due time. And if he defer the punishment, it serveth but to aggravate their condemnation so much the more upon their heads, and to make the punishment more horrible, whereof we ought to stand in greater feare, than of any bodily paine, bicause the dolor thereof abideth for ever.<sup>1</sup>

It is also in the *French Academie*, which in its four parts<sup>2</sup> practically recapitulates all the philosophical thinking of the period, that we find the most explicit statements of the whole theory of God's vengeance and of private revenge.

Therefore wee may well conclude, that all private Revenge proceeding of envy, or of hatred, or of anger, is vicious and forbidden by God, who commaundeth us to render good for evill, and not evill for evill. For hee hath ordained the meanes, wherby hee will have vengeance executed among men. Therefore hee hath appointed Magistrates to execute it according to his Lawe, and following his ordinaunce, not with any evill affection, but with just indignation proceeding from love and from true zeale of justice. . . . And as himselfe commeth in judgement to take vengeance, so hee woulde have them that supplie his place among men, unto whome hee hath committed the sworde for the defence of the good and punishment of evill doers, to followe his example. But whether they doe so or no, there is no sinne that can avoide punishment, and that findeth not a Judge even in him that committed it, to take vengeance thereof by meanes of the affections, which God hath placed in man to that ende.<sup>3</sup>

<sup>1</sup> *The French Academie, wherein is discerned the institution of maners, and whatsoever els concerneth the good and happie life of all estates and callings, by precepts of doctrine, and examples of the lives of ancient Sages and famous men.* By Peter de la Primaudaye, Esquire . . . and newlie translated into English by T. B. [Thomas Bowes] (1586), pp. 67-69.

<sup>2</sup> The four parts were first published as follows: *Institution of Maners and Callings of all Estates* (1586); *Concerning the Soule and Body of Man* (1594); *A notable Description of the whole World* (1601); *Christian Philosophie* (1618).

<sup>3</sup> *Ibid.*, 1594 ed., pp. 326, 327.



Elsewhere we find:

For no man is so dull of understanding, but he knoweth that effusion of bloud is forbidden by God, and that outrage being in no sort permitted, much lesse may a christian forget himselfe so far as to kill another, except it be through necessitie in defending his owne bodie, or in the service of his prince & countrie in a just war.<sup>1</sup>

Quoting Socrates and many others to prove that revenge is not in any sort to be used, and that it is better to endure wrong than to do wrong, the author continues:

The sword is in the hands of the king and of the magistrate that representeth his person: and it belongeth to him onely to use it against them that trouble publike tranquillitie and civil societie: to the end there should be no shew, that any other either would or durst meddle with the soveraigntie. . . . But some man will say, that these things ought in deed to be duly considered of if Justice were executed, and had not forsaken the earth to dwell in heaven. And how canst thou execute it, seeing thou are not called to do, but to demand justice? Tarie, and the just Judge will returne double that which hath been unjustly taken from thee. . . . Concerning honor, the injurie whereof we feare more than of the other, let us know, that it cannot be hurt in a good man, because vertue, which is invincible, protecteth and defendeth it.<sup>2</sup>

And again we read:

For as God hath reserved vengeance to himselfe, and promised to recompense it, so no man carrieth that minde to doe it justly that is in him, neither indeede can any: because it is the spirite of a man that offereth injury to an other, whereas the body is but the instrument of the minde, and as it were a sworde unto it, which the spirite manageth and causeth to cutte. Whereupon it followeth, that the party offended can not revenge himselfe of his chieftest and greatest enemy. For God onely is able to take vengeance of the soule, and to throwe it together with the body into hell fire. Moreover, when wee thinke to hurt the body of our enemy, which is but the executioner of the evill disposition of his Spirite, wee hurt our owne soule, making it guiltie of the judgement of God, who forbiddeth us all revenge and commaundeth us to possesse our soules in patience, and never to requite evill for evill, but to waite the Lordes leasure, being assuredly perswaded that he will save and deliver us.<sup>3</sup>

Geoffrey Fenton wrote likewise in his *Golden Epistles*:

We may accomplishe this commaundement *To be angrie and sinne not*, which we doe then best perfourme, when we rebuke the sinne, and beare pitie to the sinners, and helpe to succour and save their soules, & geve no

<sup>1</sup> *Ibid.*, 1586 ed., p. 380.

<sup>2</sup> *Ibid.*, pp. 384, 385.

<sup>3</sup> *Ibid.*, 1594 ed., p. 325.



meane to the losse and infamie of their honor: The which now a dayes happeneth in the contrary, for that in few men is found a disposition to rebuke sinne, but al sorts are displeased with the sinner, committing their zeale into Ire, and Ire into vengeance, and so by little and little, under couller to chastice, most men execute revenge.<sup>1</sup>

That God's vengeance is inevitable, inescapable, immutable, is, then, seen to be the fundamental consideration of the problem as men faced it in Shakespeare's day. But as Barclay's *Felicitie of Man* stated: "What God is in the administration of the whole world, the same a Prince is in the people committed by God to his charge. . . . *Menander* and others, call a Prince the lively image of God that governeth all things, appointed to minister justice."<sup>2</sup> To the prince or magistrate, therefore, was intrusted by God the execution of justice which in the discussions of revenge was called public revenge. And in Hannibal Gamon's treatise of 1629, *Gods Smiting to*

{ *Amendment,*  
or, we find a summary of the duties of men:  
*Revengement,*

The duties then which we owe unto God in respect of his mercifull chastisements, are three. The one of Magistrates, to take part of the divine nature, Smite as God Smites. The other two for us all, to be well affected with Gods smittings, and above all to revolt no more.<sup>3</sup>

Thus it must be seen that very early there was granted the truth of the statement which was made in the eighteenth-century work on *The Unlawfulness of Private Revenge*:

The yoke of Christianity would be very heavy if it left the Christian at the mercy of an oppressive world, "doomed to be of all men most miserable" by being forbidden to take vengeance of injuries themselves, or to apply for it to those powers who were ordained by God to fill the seat of vengeance, and whose act in these cases is pronounced to be the act of God.<sup>4</sup>

*A Dissuasive from Revenge* written about the inevitable text from Romans by Nicholas Stratford, Dean of St. Asaph, in 1684, gives a minute account of all the ramifications of the teachings of the period: No man may seek revenge. Revenge is permitted for no reason. Revenge may be sought on no man. The reasons for these prohibitions are the usual ones: (1) Revenge is repugnant to the religion we profess. (2) Revenge is impious toward God. (3) Revenge harms our-

<sup>1</sup> Fol. 45.

<sup>2</sup> P. 520.

<sup>3</sup> P. 13.

<sup>4</sup> John Cooke, *op. cit.* (1773), p. 8.

selves. It is especially interesting to note that he argues that private vengeance usurps God's prerogative, "Which how highly provoking it must be to a jealous God, who will not give his Glory to another, we may easily imagine." His fundamental teaching remains the same as that of earlier writers:

So proper is vengeance to God, that it belongs to none besides him, except only those, to whom he hath given special license to execute it; that is, to publicke Magistrates, and Superiors in Authority, who by virtue of their Office, are also Avengers; but what is inflicted by them, is to be accounted no other than the Vengeance of God, because they as God's Ministers are commissioned by him.<sup>1</sup>

It is, then, apparent, it seems to me, that the great tragic theme of sixteenth- and seventeenth-century teaching is this theme of God's revenge for sin. Writers of tragedies, both dramatic and non-dramatic tragedies, were necessarily preoccupied with this fundamental teaching. And all Elizabethan tragedy must appear as fundamentally a tragedy of revenge if the extent of the idea of revenge be but grasped. The threefold aspect of revenge must, however, be always held in mind; and revenge must be reckoned as including God's revenge, public revenge committed to the rulers by God, and private revenge forbidden alike by God and by the state as his representative.

Chapman made *The Revenge of Bussy d'Ambois* a vehicle for the discussion of this whole problem of revenge centering about the question which he stated in the lines,

never private cause  
Should take on it the part of public laws.<sup>2</sup>

No better exposition of the whole theory exists, however, than that in *Richard III*, where Clarence argues with his murderers:

Erroneous vassals! the great King of kings  
Hath in the tale of His law commanded  
That thou shalt do no murder. Will you, then,  
Spurn at His edict and fulfill a man's?  
Take heed; for He holds vengeance in His Hand,  
To hurl upon their heads that break His law.

When the murderers reply with the claim that God is now hurling vengeance on guilty Clarence, Clarence again cries:

If God will be avenged for the deed,  
O, know you yet, He doth it publicly.

<sup>1</sup> Pp. 62 and 61.

<sup>2</sup> III, ii, 115, 116.

Take not the quarrel from His powerful arm;  
He needs no indirect or lawless course  
To cut off those that have offended Him.

And finally:

And are you yet to your own souls so blind,  
That you will war with God by murdering me?<sup>1</sup>

It is perhaps well to note at this point that private vengeance executed upon a wicked ruler called for special consideration from many writers of the period. The 1563 edition of the *Mirror for Magistrates* contained an unevasive statement of the matter:

For whatsoever man, woman, or childe, is by the consente of the whole realme established in the royall seat, so it have not bene injuriously procured by rigour of sword and open force, but quietlve by title, eyther of enherytaunce, succession, lawful bequest, common consent, or eleccion, is undoubt-edlye chosen by God to be his deputie: and whosoever resisteth anye such, resisteth agaynst God him selfe, and is a ranke tráytour and rebell, and shall be sure to prosper as wel as this blacke Smith, and other such have done.<sup>2</sup>

Beard discussed the subject explicitly under the heading, "How the Justice of God Is More Evidently Declared upon the Mighty Ones of This World, Then upon Any Other and the Cause Why," explaining that "by how much the more they cannot bee punished by man, and that humane lawes can lay no hold upon them, so much the rather God himselfe becommeth executioner of his owne justice upon their pates: and in such sort, that every man may perceive his hand to be upon them."<sup>3</sup>

In *Richard II* the good Gaunt argues when the Duchess of Gloucester tries to spur him to vengeance:

Put we our quarrel to the will of Heaven;  
Who, when they see the hours ripe on earth  
Will rain hot vengeance on offenders' heads.

And he continues:

God's is the quarrel; for God's substitute,  
His deputy anointed in His sight,  
Hath caus'd his death; the which if wrongfully,  
Let Heaven revenge; for I may never lift  
An angry arm against His minister.<sup>4</sup>

<sup>1</sup> I, vi, 200-205, 221-25, 259, 260.

<sup>2</sup> From the prose after the tragedy of "The Blacke Smyth, and Lord Audlaye executed for trayterous rebellion," fol. c. lxxix.

<sup>3</sup> Beard, *op. cit.*, p. 7.

<sup>4</sup> I, ii, 6-8, 39-41.

It was perceived that God sometimes uses as his instrument of vengeance a private avenger, but as the closing words of *The Maid's Tragedy* teach of such cases,

on lustful kings  
Unlooked-for sudden deaths from God are sent;  
But cursed is he that is their instrument.<sup>1</sup>

With this theory Hamlet's source, *The Hystorie of Hamblet*, is in accord, for there we find:

But when I speak of revenging any injury received upon a great personage or superior, it must be understood by such an one as is not our sovereigne,

<sup>1</sup> With the closing words of this play of Beaumont and Fletcher it is interesting to compare the explanation given by Beard in his comment on the story of the Duchess of Malfi: "Wherein albeit the Cardinals crueltie was most famous, as also in putting to death the poore infants, yet Gods justice bare the sway, that used him as an instrument to punish those, who under the vaille of secret marriage, thought it lawfull for them to commit any villainy. And thus God busieth sometime the most wicked about his will, and maketh the rage and fury of the devill himselfe serve for meanes to bring to passe his fearful judgements" (p. 323).

I quote also from Beard in this connection the history of Julius Caesar in a typical Renaissance interpretation based on Plutarch's account. It should be noted, however, that North's Plutarch in recounting the catastrophes which overtook all the actors in the great tragedy says, "But above all, the ghost that appeared unto Brutus shewed plainly, that the goddes were offended with the murther of Caesar." Beard's account is as follows: "Although that *Julius Caesar* did tyrannously usurpe the key of the Romane commonwealth, & intruded himselfe into the Emplre against the lawes, customs, and authority of the people and Senat: yet was it accounted a most traiterous and cruell part to massacre & kill him in the Senat, as he sate in his seat misdoubting no mishap, as the sequele of their severall ends which were actors in this tragedy did declare: for the vengeance of God was so manifestly displaied upon them, that not one of the conspirators escaped, but was pursued by sea and land so eagerly, till there was not one left of that wicked crue whome revenge had not overtaken, *Cassius* being discomfited in the battell of *Phillippos*, supposing that *Brutus* had beene also in the same case, used the same sword against himselfe (a marvellous thing) wherewith before he had smitten *Caesar*. *Brutus* also a few daies after, when a fearful vision had appeared twice unto him by night, understanding therby that his time of life was but short, though he had the better of his enemies the day before, yet threw himselfe desperately into the greatest danger of the battel, for his speedier dispatch, but hee was reserved to a more shamefull end: for seeing his men slaine before him, he retired hastily apart from view of men, & setting his sword to his breast, threw himselfe upon it, piercing him through the body, and so ended his life. And thus was *Caesars* death revenged by *Octavius* and *Anthony* who remained conquerors after all that bloody crew was brought to naught: betwixt whome also ere long burst out a most cruell deviation, which grew unto a furious and cruell battaile by sea, wherein *Anthony* was overcome, and sent flying into *Egypt*, and there taught his owne hands to be his murderers. And such was the end of his life, who had beene an actor in that pernicious office of the Triumvirship, and a causer of the deaths of many men. And forasmuch as *Cleopatra* was the first motive and setter on of *Anthony* to this warre, it was good reason that shee should partake some of the punishment which they both deserved: as she did, for being surprised by her enemies, to the intent she might not be carried in triumph to Rome, she caused an aspe to bite her to death. Marke here the pitifull Tragedies that following one another in the necke were so linckt together, that drawing and holding ech other, they drew with them a world of miseries to a most woful end: a most transparent and cleere glasse wherein the visages of Gods heavy judgments upon all murderers are apparently deciphred" (pp. 249 ff.).

againste whom wee maie by no meanes, resiste, nor once practise any treason nor conspiracie against his life:<sup>1</sup>

Hamlet justifies his own action in killing his uncle by his assertion that he is "lawfull successor in the kingdom, and just revenger of a crime above al others most grievous and punishable."<sup>2</sup> His French historian likewise justifies his action on the ground that he is the lawful heir, deprived by a tyrant and a usurper of high rights.<sup>3</sup> His is the right of public vengeance, his the duty of avenging the murdered king and the oppressed people. He is completely justified, not as the private avenger, but as the lawful king and the accepted defender of the people, the minister of justice. No such extended defense is needed in the older version, but the sixteenth- and seventeenth-century authors read into the story their own apologetics.

It is against this background of sixteenth- and seventeenth-century teaching that the so-called "revenge play" should be considered. God's revenge is the general theme dominating all the tragedies of the period; the revenge play is concerned with one variant of this theme, that of private revenge in its relation to God's revenge. But however much the contemporary interest in revenge determined the trend of English drama in this period, no student of literature is likely to forget for a moment the Senecan inheritance supremely influential in dramatic tragedies of the revenge type. It is not necessary to recount here the reiterated theme of crime revenged, the ghosts, the horrors heaped on horrors, characteristic of the tragedies of Seneca which stood as models to the age. In Seneca, too, private revenge seems to be taking

<sup>1</sup> The translation of 1608 made from the Belleforest story of 1582 is from Sir Israel Gollancz' *The Sources of Hamlet* (1926), p. 197.

<sup>2</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 281.

<sup>3</sup> Cf. pp. 259-81, but note particularly the argument on pp. 260, 261: "If vengeance ever seemed to have any shew of justice, it is then, when pietie and affection constraineth us to remember our fathers unjustly murdered, as the things wherby we are dispensed withal, and which seeke the means not to leave treason and murther unpunished: seeing David a holy and just king, and of nature simple, courteous, and debonaire, yet when he dyed he charged his soone Salomon (that succeeded him in his throane) not to suffer certaine men that had done him injurie to escape unpunished. Not that this holy king . . . was carefull or desirous of revenge, but to leave this example unto us, that where the prince or countrey is interested [The French reads *que ou le public est interesse*], the desire of revenge cannot by any meanes (how small soever) beare the title of condemnation, but is rather commendable and worthy of praise: for otherwise the good kings of Juda, nor others had not pursued them to death, that had offended their predecessors, if God himself had not inspired and ingraven that desire within their hearts. Hereof the Athenian lawes beare wnesse, whose custome was to erect images in remembrance of those men that, revenging the injuries of the commonwealth, boldly massacred tyrants and such as troubled the peace and welfare of the citizens."

the place of divine vengeance as it was seen in the older Greek tragedies. Such obvious themes and appurtenances as these of Senecan drama could all too easily be imitated by the least skilled and crudest of adventuring playwrights. But those Elizabethan dramatists who used Seneca as a model were not all illiterate, uncomprehending writers. Even apart from the more learned writers who wrote for more or less restricted groups there were among the writers for the public stage men who were quite capable of translating the Senecan treatment of revenge into their own philosophical vernacular. Horror might be piled on horror in their plays, man might undertake his private revenge, but in the end God was seen to be the true avenger, and God did not permit one who seized his prerogative of revenge to go himself unpunished.

Another point which is generally ignored seems to be most important in this connection. Ghosts are most frequently the instigators of revenge in the Elizabethan plays. In the revenge plays they are almost inevitably avenging spirits. Such ghosts are not to be disputed about in Senecan plays, and it is no part of my purpose to recapitulate Seneca's authorities from among the old philosophers. What interests me at the moment is what Elizabethan England thought of ghosts.<sup>1</sup> That the subject was a live one cannot fail to be apparent to anyone who knows anything at all of the Elizabethan and Jacobean disputes concerning ghosts and witches. And though scientists differed among themselves somewhat as to the reality of ghosts, the theological and popular treatises of the period leave little room for doubt that ghosts were popularly accepted as existing outside the mind of the one to whom they appeared. The point always at issue was whether such ghostly appearances were feignings of the devil (or even occasionally shapes sent by a good angel), as the Protestants generally believed, or whether they were the spirits of those who were still in purgatory. Even among the Catholics there does not seem to have been any uniformity of belief until after the decisions of the Council of Trent in 1563. But the important considerations are two. First, the English-

<sup>1</sup> Cf. F. W. Moorman, "The Pre-Shakespearean Ghost" and "Shakespeare's Ghosts," *Modern Language Review*, I, 85 ff. and 192 ff.; also the very important papers included in the Introduction and Appendix of the 1929 edition of Lavater's book by J. Dover Wilson and May Yardley. Cf. also chaps. ix and xii of my *Shakespeare's Tragic Heroes*, in which I have embodied the conclusions reached by the foregoing editors, though my own conclusions were arrived at independently and were in press before I knew of the edition of Lavater.



man of the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, when he went to the theater and saw ghosts on the stage, must inevitably have thought of ghosts as they were understood in his day, and he might have seen in them either shades of the departed or devices of the devil. Second, the most ardent defenders of the existence of purgatory never gave cause to father unlawful revenge on any good Catholic ghost. I quote the eminently fair summary of the Catholic point of view contained in the work of the Swiss Protestant, Lavater, which was translated into English in 1572, under the title *Of Ghostes and Spirites Walking by Nyght*:

Now touching the suffrages or ways of succour, wherby soules are dispatched out of Purgatorie, Popishe doctours appoynt foure meanes: That is, the healthfull offering of the sacrifice in the sacrament of the aultar, almose giving, prayer, fasting. And under these membres, they comprise al other, as vowed pilgrimages, visiting of churches, helping of the poore, and the furthering of Gods worship and glorie, &c. But above all, they extoll their masse, as a thing of greatest force to redeeme soules out of miserie: of whose wonderfull effect, and of the rest even nowe recited by us, they alleage many straunge examples.

Neither only in their writings, but in open pupil also they have taught, how excellent and noble an acte it is, for men touched with compassion, with these foresaid works to ridde the soule that appeareth unto them and craveth their help, out of the payns of purgatorie: or if they cannot do so, yet to ease and assuage their torture. For say they, the soules after their deliverance. ceasse not in most earnest maner to pray for their benefactors, and helpers, On the other side, they teach that it is an horrible and heynous offence, if a man give no succoure to suche as seeke it at his hands, especially, if it be the soule of his parents, brethren and sisters. For except by them they mighte conveniently be released of so manyfolde miseries, they would not so earnestly crave their helpe. Wherefore say they, no man should be so voyde of naturall affection, so cruell and outrageous, that he should at any tyme not desire to bestow some small wealth, to benefite those, by whom hee hath before by divers and sundry wayes ben pleased.<sup>1</sup>

The point cannot, it seems to me, be too much emphasized that the ghosts which the Catholics recognized as coming from purgatory to ask help from the living in the expiation of their sins did not demand revenge, but only masses, alms, prayers, and fasting. In fact, the chief argument against those who thought ghosts to be mere manifestations of the devil was the argument that since the ghosts never demanded

<sup>1</sup> Ed. J. Dover Wilson and May Yardley, pp. 109, 110.



other than things recognized as good, it was impossible to think their visits inspired by the devil. And visits of spirits which would move men to other deeds are regularly ascribed to the wiles of the devil.

To apply these theories to the great mass of Elizabethan and Jacobean tragedies is a task beyond the scope of this paper. But I must again insist that the revenge tragedies should not be read as if they were all cut off the same piece of cloth. The imitators of Seneca or of Seneca's imitators who saw only ghosts and horrors imitated what they saw. But the dramatists who made of their plays something into which was woven the philosophy of their own day found in the revenge play a vehicle specially adapted to the teaching toward which all meaningful tragedy was directed in the period of which we are speaking. Sometimes the ghost was represented as quite in accord with Christian teaching, as in *The Atheist's Tragedie*,<sup>1</sup> where we find the ghost of Montferrers exhorting Charlemont:

Returne to France; for thy old Father's dead;  
And thou by murder disinherited.  
Attend with patience the successe of things;  
But leave revenge unto the King of Kings.

More often the ghost was a Senecan ghost emitted apparently from a Catholic purgatory but demanding help of a sort which no good Christian ghost could demand—help which led to the destruction of the avenger.

Two questions must, then, be borne in mind as we re-read the dramas of Kyd and Chapman and Marston and Shakespeare and Webster and Tourneur and all that great company of those who wrote of private revenge: Does the dialogue make clear whether the avenger has the right to take upon himself the prerogative of public avenger, executing God's justice upon others? Does the plot make clear whether or not God executes vengeance upon the avenger? When the plays of the period are so read, the particular niche set apart for revenge tragedy becomes more apparent. Furthermore, revenge tragedies will no longer be regarded as necessarily Senecan in their teaching. Instead there will be found to exist wide differences of philosophic purpose and understanding among the individual plays of the type.

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<sup>1</sup> Cyril Tourneur, 1611.

## THE SOURCES OF CALDERÓN'S *A SECRETO* *AGRAVIO SECRETA VENGANZA*

THE sources of Calderón's *A secreto agravio secreta venganza* have been discussed to some extent by José M. de Cossío,<sup>1</sup> who cites Tirso's *El celoso prudente* as the unquestionable source of Calderón; and by Georges Cirot,<sup>2</sup> who sets forth a few points in which Calderón follows Lope's *La más prudente venganza*. The remarks of these writers are somewhat summary and are concerned only with the immediate sources of Calderón without reference to the history of the theme which forms the basis of the drama. The purpose of this study is to trace the history of the theme from its origins to the time of Calderón and to enumerate in detail the latter's immediate sources.

The story of a husband who secretly kills his unfaithful wife is as old as the *Cent Nouvelles nouvelles*<sup>3</sup> (*CNN*). In the French tale a president in Provence, knowing of the unfaithfulness of his wife, pretends before his servants not to believe it and dissembles until he can secretly avenge his dishonor. He has a mule go eight days without water and lets his wife ride the mule when she has to go to the wedding of her cousin. When the mule comes to a stream, he rushes into it and drowns the woman. Although this is the first known account of this theme, its origin undoubtedly has a much earlier date.

Walter Küchler<sup>4</sup> seems to have hit upon the beginnings of our story in the *Eracle* of Gautier d'Arras and the *Châtelain de Coucy* of Jaqueton Saquet.<sup>5</sup> In the *Eracle*<sup>6</sup> the empress rides a horse into a stream

<sup>1</sup> "El celoso prudente y a secreto agravio secreta venganza," *Boletín de la Biblioteca de Menéndez y Pelayo*, V (1923), 62-69. Cossío's discussion is confined to the part of the drama dealing with vengeance. He mentions that D. Alberto de Lista in *Galería dramática* (Madrid, 1839) considers Tirso as Calderón's source.

<sup>2</sup> "Valeur littéraire des Nouvelles de Lope de Vega," *Bulletin hispanique*, XXVIII (1926), 321-55.

<sup>3</sup> Ed. Thomas Wright (Paris, 1858), Vol. I, nouvelle 47.

<sup>4</sup> "Die Cent Nouvelles nouvelles, I," *Zeitschrift für französische Sprache und Literatur*, XXX (1906), 300.

<sup>5</sup> Küchler notes the similarity of these two stories and *CNN* in the incident of the wife's riding into a stream.

<sup>6</sup> Ed. E. Löseth (Paris, 1890), vss. 4545 ff. Küchler quotes vss. 4545-53. The *Eracle* was probably written in the latter half of the twelfth century. According to Gaston Paris, *Esquisse historique de la Littérature française au Moyen Age* (Paris, 1907), p. 110, Gautier d'Arras was a contemporary of Chrétien de Troyes, who died about 1180.

and allows herself to be thrown in the water so that she may be carried into a house where her lover is hiding. Eracle, friend and counselor of the emperor, tells his master of the unfaithful empress but advises him not to punish her. The similarity here to the tale of *CNN*, although slight, is significant for the following reasons: the wife rides a horse into a stream; the incident is connected with the wife's love affair; one in the service of the husband tells him of his wife's dishonesty.

A resemblance to the *Eracle* is seen in the *Châtelain de Coucy* (*Chât*)<sup>1</sup> but with a marked increase in similarity to *CNN*. Fayel receives hints from his domestics and becomes suspicious of his wife. He asks his wife to go on a pilgrimage with him and she consents. She rides her horse into the stream and allows herself to fall in the water so she may be carried into a nearby mill where her lover is waiting for her. Fayel later plans to go on a crusade, but before he leaves he has to be present at a lawsuit of his cousin. He finally punishes his wife by giving her the cooked heart of her lover to eat, which results in her death. The significant points in this tale from the point of view of their similarity to *CNN* are: the husband receives information from his servants of his wife's infidelity; the wife rides a horse into a stream; the incident is connected with the wife's love affair; the husband must be present at a lawsuit of a cousin (in *CNN* the wife must be present at the wedding of a cousin); the wife meets death as a result of her love affair. A tale based on these incidents would differ radically from *CNN* only in one thing: the wife rides into the stream as a means of meeting her lover rather than as a result of and as a tragic punishment for having betrayed her husband. This alteration was probably the invention of some author between the time of the *Chât* and *CNN*.<sup>2</sup> In addition to the foregoing similarities it is worthy of note that in *CNN*, as in *Chât*, the wife, before going on the trip in which she rides into the stream, complains of her chariot and her mount.<sup>3</sup> In both stories the animal is to be watered at the

<sup>1</sup> *L'Histoire du Châtelain de Coucy et de la Dame de Fayel*, ed. G. A. Crapelet (Paris, 1829). Probably written in the first part of the thirteenth century; see *ed. cit.*, p. xiv.

<sup>2</sup> Kùchler (*op. cit.*, p. 301) suggests that some author after the date of the *Chât* gave the story its tragic construction. The story of *Chât*, however, is tragic because the wife dies as a result of her love. The significant change is that the tragic element is shifted to the incident of the wife's riding into the stream.

<sup>3</sup> Cf. *Chât*, vss. 6222 ff., and *CNN* (*ed. cit.*), p. 290.

stream, and in both the expression *de plain vol* occurs where the horse and rider enter the water:

*CNN*: elle de plain vol saulta dedans à tout sa charge.<sup>1</sup>

*Chât*: Et lors que ses chevaux baissa  
En l'aigue pour boire le col,  
Elle se lessa de plain vol  
Chéoir el gués sans mot dire.<sup>2</sup>

These correspondences make it seem probable that the contents of the *Chât* furnished material for a story which, when developed completely, assumed the form found in the fifteenth century in the *CNN*. Further evidence that *Chât* is an early link in the history of our story is seen in the fact that it contains two incidents which, although not occurring in *CNN*, do occur in later versions: the husband heaps favors on his wife before punishing her (Doni, Lope, *Heptaméron*); and the lover on one occasion meets the wife, disguised as a jewel merchant (Calderón).

After the time of *CNN*,<sup>3</sup> a number of tales were written which relate practically the same story as *CNN*. These versions are taken up in this study in chronological order. To say what the immediate source of any one of the accounts is, with the exception of Malespini's, which is a free translation of *CNN*, would be difficult if not impossible, because none of them follows closely a preceding tale and each one contains elements which must be attributed either to oral sources or to written versions yet unknown. Without attempting to name definitely the sources of the various accounts, I shall indicate for each tale the preceding version most similar to it.

MATTEO BANDELLO, *Le novelle*, PARTE I,  
NOVELLA 11 (*Band*)<sup>4</sup>

This is in all probability the version next in date after *CNN*. Although an edition of the *Novelle* did not appear until 1554,<sup>5</sup> it is probable that the novels of Part I were written at a much earlier date. Toldo thinks that the fourth Part of the *Novelle* was composed before

<sup>1</sup> Ed. Wright, p. 291.

<sup>2</sup> Ed. Crapelet, p. 209.

<sup>3</sup> The *CNN* was finished in 1462 according to L. E. Kastner, "Antoine de la Sale and the Doubtful Works," *MLR.*, XIII (1918), 184.

<sup>4</sup> See ed. Brognoligo (Bori, 1910).

<sup>5</sup> See Giambattista Passano, *I novellieri italiani in prosa* (Torino, 1878).

1541,<sup>1</sup> and Morellini places the date of Parte I, novella 11, as between 1506 and 1525 during the author's stay in Milan.<sup>2</sup> *Band* is not very close to any preceding version now extant. There are only two points in common with *CNN*: (1) the husband is connected with a parliament (senator) in France; (2) servants notify the husband of his wife's love affair. Similarity to *Chât* exists in the following: (1) the lover strives for and gains the love of the wife and they have various secret meetings; (2) the lovers are together again after the husband learns of their affairs. As in the *Eracle*, the one who notifies the husband is his counselor. In distinction from preceding accounts, *Bandello* has the husband arm his servants and pretend to search vainly for the lover, allowing the latter to escape through a window. The husband then upbraids the servants and dismisses the incident without punishing his wife. His is the only account to omit the incident of vengeance. *Bandello* has apparently depended upon oral sources as well as on his own invention.

NICOLAS DE TROYES, *Le grand Parangon*,  
NOUVELLE 157<sup>3</sup>

Although this version is not available in edited form, the summary given in the Table of Contents included by Mabille<sup>4</sup> shows that Nicolas de Troyes is very close to *CNN*: (1) the husband is a president; (2) he has a bad wife and knows of her dishonesty; (3) the mule had not drunk for eight days.<sup>5</sup>

BONAVENTURE DES PERIERS, *Nouvelles Récréations et  
joyeux Devis*, NOUVELLE 90<sup>6</sup>

The story here is also quite similar to *CNN*: (1) the husband, though not a president, is connected with the court; (2) he has a bad

<sup>1</sup> Pietro Toldo, *Contributo allo studio della novella francese del XV e XVI secolo* (Roma, 1895), p. 65.

<sup>2</sup> D. Morellini, *Matteo Bandello* (Sandrio, 1890), p. 160.

<sup>3</sup> *Le grand Parangon* was finished in 1537 according to Gaston Paris, "La Nouvelle française au XV<sup>e</sup> et XVI<sup>e</sup> Siècles," *Journal des Savants*, 1895, p. 297, n. 1.

<sup>4</sup> The most complete edition of *Le grand Parangon* is that of Emile Mabille (Paris, 1869); it contains only fifty-five stories. Number 157 is omitted, but a summary of it is given in the Table of Contents included by Mabille, p. xliii: "D'un president sachant la deshonneste vie de sa femme la fit noyer par sa mulle, qui la mena en la rivière à cause qu'elle n'avait bu de huit jours."

<sup>5</sup> Mabille (*loc. cit.*) names *CNN* as Nicolas' source.

<sup>6</sup> Ed. Louis Lacour (Paris, 1874). Written about 1538 according to Lacour, pp. xiv, xxxv.

wife and knows of her dishonesty; (3) he keeps a mule from drinking and puts salt in the oats; (4) as his wife approaches the stream, he remains behind so that he cannot help her. The story differs from any preceding version in the following: (1) the trip on which the wife is drowned is to a country home for pleasure (return trip); (2) the mule is starved two days instead of eight.

MARGUERITE D'ANGOULESME, *Heptaméron*

If Marguerite composed the *Heptaméron* (*Hept*)<sup>1</sup> before Bandello wrote his *novella*, it would seem that the latter followed *Hept* in part, since the two versions are similar in several respects.<sup>2</sup> But since the *Hept* was begun no earlier than 1546,<sup>3</sup> it seems likely that Bandello influenced Marguerite rather than vice versa. Bandello went to France in 1541.<sup>4</sup> He was at the court of Marguerite's father, Francis I, and it is quite likely that Marguerite was familiar with the *Novelle* either in manuscript form or from oral repetition.<sup>5</sup> The similarities of *Hept* to *Band* are as follows: (1) the lover is a young man; the wife is young and beautiful and does not receive enough attention from her husband (in *Hept* the husband is old; in *Band* it is stated that the husband does not give enough attention to his wife); (2) one servant sends another servant to tell the husband; (3) the husband leaves his servant to guard the door while he enters his wife's room and allows the lover to escape; (4) the husband calls in the servant and reprimands him for his error; (5) the husband reprimands the wife. As in *CNN*, the husband in *Hept* is a president in Provence; and as in *Chât*, he heaps favors upon his wife before taking vengeance on her. Unlike preceding versions, *Hept* makes the lover hide in a closet, and the husband kill his wife by means of a poisoned salad. The fact that *Hept* calls the husband a president at Grenoble indicates that the legend had become confused with the history of Geoffry Carles, president of the parliament of Grenoble in 1505. According to a

<sup>1</sup> *L'Heptaméron des Nouvelles de Marguerite d'Angoulesme*, ed. Frédéric Dillaye (Paris, 1879).

<sup>2</sup> Letterio di Francia, "Alla scoperta del vero Bandello," *Giornale storico della letteratura italiana*, LXXX (1922), 35, states that Bandello took the first of his two episodes from the *Hept*.

<sup>3</sup> See Gaston Paris, *Jour. des Sav.*, 1895, p. 297. Gaston Paris also states that the work first appeared in 1558.

<sup>4</sup> See Ernesto Masi, *Matteo Bandello* (Bologna, 1900), pp. 207-10.

<sup>5</sup> See P. Toldo, *loc. cit.*

manuscript French dictionary, *Des Beautés et Choses curieuses du Dauphiné*, Geoffry Carles, knowing of his wife's dishonesty, long dissembled before avenging his wrong by having his wife ride into a stream.<sup>1</sup> But the story was current long before 1505, and according to Kùchler such an incident in the life of Geoffry Carles is contradicted by the latter's biography given by Montaiglon in his re-edition of the *Hept* which was brought out by Leroux de Lincy in 1880.<sup>2</sup>

ANTONFRANCESCO DONI, *I Marmi*, NOVELLA 85<sup>3</sup>

Doni most resembles Des Periers. The following similarities are noticeable: (1) it is not stated how the husband learns of his wife's affair; (2) the river is difficult and unfordable; (3) the horse has not drunk for two days; (4) both lover and wife are punished (Des Periers only mentions that the husband dissembled until he could punish his wife, her lover, or both, and that the first lot fell to the wife). As in *CNN*, the husband feigns sorrow at his wife's death. Doni differs from preceding versions in having the husband make friends with the lover so as to bring death to him as well as to the wife.<sup>4</sup>

GIRALDI CINTHIO, *Hecatommithi*, DECA TERZA,  
NOVELLA VI<sup>5</sup>

Giraldi shows similarity to various of the preceding versions but more to *Hept* and *Band* than the others. He is similar to *Band* in that (1) the wife sees the young man from her window and they fall in love; (2) the husband sends the lover out through a window; (3) the husband, after allowing the lover to escape, calls in the servant to search the house. The following are similarities to *Hept*: (1) an old servant informs the husband; (2) the husband, after allowing the lover to escape, calls in the servant to search the house; (3) the husband dismisses the servant from his service; (4) the husband dissembles to avoid public scandal. The following traits are like Doni:

<sup>1</sup> Kùchler, *op. cit.*, p. 299, quotes from the MS. See also *The Heptameron of Margaret, Queen of Navarre*, trans. Walter K. Kelly (London, n.d.), p. 70.

<sup>2</sup> *Loc. cit.*

<sup>3</sup> Available in the following collection: Antonfrancesco Doni, *Le novelle* (Milano, 1863), novella xxix. The first edition of the *Marmi*, according to Passano, *op. cit.*, was 1552.

<sup>4</sup> Letterio di Francia, *Novellistica* (Milano, 1924), I, 613, thinks that Doni's source was other than *CNN*.

<sup>5</sup> Ed. Firenze (1834). First printed in 1565 according to Passano, *op. cit.*



(1) the wife rides a mule into a stream; (2) the lover meets death by drowning; (3) the husband makes a show of mourning. As in *CNN*, (1) the mule has not drunk for eight days; (2) the wife rides the mule into the stream; (3) the husband feigns sorrow and has a funeral for his wife. As in *Des Periers*, the trip is to a house in the country. Giraldi differs from other versions in (1) the complicated way in which the lover obtains a meeting with the wife; (2) the incident of the servant waiting under a window at the foot of a rope ladder; (3) the incident of the husband drowning the lover while the latter is in bathing.

LUIGI CONTARINI, *Il vago e dilettevole giardino*<sup>1</sup>

This is only a brief paragraph and seems to have followed a similarly brief earlier version. It is like *Doni* in that (1) the husband is a rich man in France; and (2) the trip is into the country for pleasure. It is like *Des Periers* in that (1) the husband has a bad wife; (2) the trip is into the country for pleasure. As in Giraldi and *Hept*, the husband wants to punish his wife without causing a scandal. The version differs from others in that the mule goes three days without drink.

CELIO MALESPINI, *Ducento novelle*, PARTE II, NOVELLA 16<sup>2</sup>

The account here is nothing more than a free translation of *CNN*.

TIRSO DE MOLINA, *El celoso prudente*<sup>3</sup>

Although important as a source for Calderón, this does not belong to the list of tales thus far discussed. In it the wife is not guilty; the husband only suspects her and contemplates a vengeance which he never executes. Tirso, however, does show that he was familiar with some version of our story: the husband heaps favors upon his wife, planning at the same time to kill her (*Hept*, *Chât*); he says that he has read of an offended husband who invited his enemy to go swimming and drowned him (Giraldi); he sets fire to the wife's room. This latter incident does not occur in any preceding version.

<sup>1</sup> Ed. Vicenza (1597), p. 230: "Adultera punita senza scandalo." First edition in 1586; cf. Passano, *op. cit.*

<sup>2</sup> Ed. Venetia (1609). According to Passano, *op. cit.*, this was the first edition.

<sup>3</sup> *Biblioteca de autores españoles*, Vol. V. *El celoso prudente*, contained in the first part of *Los cigarrales de Toledo*, was written in 1620 and published in 1624. See D. Cayetano Alberto de la Barrera y Leirado, *Catálogo bibliográfico y biográfico del teatro antiguo español* (Madrid, 1860), pp. 384-87.

LOPE DE VEGA, *La más prudente venganza*,<sup>1</sup>  
AND CALDERÓN, *A secreto agravio secreta  
venganza*<sup>2</sup>

These depart considerably from the preceding tales but still have essentially the same theme. In Lope a youth, Lisardo, and a girl, Laura, are in love. Lisardo has to leave the country as the result of aiding a friend in a fight, and during his absence Laura's parents marry her to Marcelo. Lisardo returns and renews his attentions to Laura. Laura, wishing to preserve her honor, insists that Lisardo leave the city, but soon writes asking him to return. Lisardo returns and visits Laura in her home, but Antandro, his servant, angry for a beating given him by his master, one day tells Marcelo of his wife's affair. Marcelo stations Antandro at the door of his house. He enters his wife's room while Lisardo leaves by a secret garden gate. He heaps favors upon his wife and incites his servant, Zulemo, to kill her. He then kills Zulemo, poisons Laura's servant, Fenisa, and later shoots Antandro. After two years he finds Lisardo in bathing and drowns him. Lope draws upon his imagination for much of his story but reflects the influence of two preceding tales in several respects: *Hept* and *Giraldi*. Although he seems to have followed neither of these as a written source, practically all of his story which he took from a preceding tale can be attributed to one of the two. The points of similarity to *Hept* are: (1) a servant tells the husband;<sup>3</sup> (2) the husband stations a servant at the door of his house; (3) the husband allows the lover to escape; (4) the husband heaps favors upon his wife; (5) the husband disposes of his servant; (6) the husband kills his wife by means other than having her ride into a stream. The similarities to *Giraldi* are: (1) a servant tells the husband; (2) the

<sup>1</sup> BAE, Vol. XXXVIII. Lope had *La circe, con otras rimas y prosas* prepared to print before August, 1623. It appeared in 1624, including *La más prudente venganza*. See Hugo A. Rennert and Américo Castro, *La vida de Lope de Vega* (Madrid, 1919), p. 294.

<sup>2</sup> *Teatro selecto de Calderón de la Barca*, Vol. II ("Biblioteca clásica," Vol. XXXVII). *A secreto agravio secreta venganza* was written in 1635; see Antonio Paz y Mella, *Catálogo de las piezas de teatro que se conservan en el departamento de manuscritos de la Biblioteca Nacional* (Madrid, 1899), p. 123. It was printed in 1637; see Friedrich Wilhelm Valentine Schmidt, *Schauspiele Calderons* (Elberfeld, 1857), p. 255, and Barrera, *op. cit.*, p. 50.

<sup>3</sup> Clot (op. cit., p. 326) calls attention to the article of Augustín de Amezúa, "Un dato para las fuentes de *El médico de su honra*," *Revue hispanique*, XXI (1909), 395-411, who finds in *Libro de las cosas de Córdoba* the story of *El médico de su honra* (Lope's and Calderón's) and two elements found in *La más prudente venganza*: (1) the confidant (servant) to avenge ill treatment reveals all to the husband; (2) the attitude of the husband in letting the lover talk.

husband allows the lover to escape from his house; (3) the husband tells the servant he could not find the lover; he does not ask the servant to search the house; (4) the husband disposes of the servant; (5) the husband drowns the lover. In (2), (3), and (5) Lope is clearly more like Giraldi than *Hept*; whereas in (2), (4), and (6) of the comparison with *Hept* he is clearly more like *Hept*. There are three similarities between Lope and Tirso: (1) in Tirso a former lover of one of the girls returns from abroad and finds that the girl is going to marry another; (2) the husband heaps favors on the wife; (3) the husband drowns the lover while the latter is in swimming. In all three points, however, the similarity is not very striking; Lope seems to have followed some tale rather than Tirso's play. Lope differs from the preceding versions in that (1) the servant who tells is the servant of the lover rather than of the husband; (2) the husband sends the lover out through a secret garden gate; (3) the husband kills three servants instead of discharging one; (4) the husband causes the servant to kill the wife. The essential difference between Lope and the majority of the other versions is that the wife's death results from a means other than that of riding into a stream. In this respect he, like *Hept*, departs from the usual theme. The fact that he reflects the influence of more than one version and that he differs from these in various respects probably indicates that *Lope* followed oral sources.

For the tragedy *A secreto agravio secreta venganza* Calderón clearly has used as his two main sources Lope's *La más prudente venganza* and Tirso's *El celoso prudente*. He has followed Lope in the part of the drama dealing with the wife's love affair and the husband's discovery of the lover (Acts I, II) and Tirso in the contemplation and execution of vengeance (Act III). The following incidents are borrowed from Lope: (1) Leonor marries D. Lope, thinking her lover dead (I, viii, ix); in Lope, Laura marries Marcelo, thinking her lover already married in Mexico. In neither case is the marriage of the girl's own choosing; in Lope, it is the parent's wish; in Calderón, it is a marriage *por poder*.<sup>1</sup> (2) The lover, D. Luis, returns too late to marry Leonor (I, vii); but renews his attentions to her (I, x). (3) Leonor, wishing to be true to her husband, asks D. Luis to leave (II, ii). In Lope, the lover

<sup>1</sup> See Clot, *op. cit.*, p. 326, on this point. In *El médico de su honra* of both Lope and Calderón, the youths are lovers before the girl's marriage.

leaves and later returns at the wish of Laura; then it is that he is admitted to her house. In Calderón, D. Luis promises to leave if Leonor will first admit him to her house; this she does.<sup>1</sup> (4) D. Lope leaves D. Juan to guard the door while he enters his wife's room (II, xv). Calderón here differs somewhat from Lope: the husband has not been told openly of his wife's lover; he happens to come home and in the hall finds D. Juan, who tells him that someone is in his wife's room.<sup>2</sup> (5) The husband makes the lover leave through a secret garden gate (II, xvii).<sup>3</sup> In addition to the foregoing, it is possible that Calderón also took the following from Lope: D. Juan leaves India on account of a duel (I, iii); in Lope, Lisardo leaves Spain as a result of having aided a friend in a fight.<sup>4</sup>

The following traits are borrowed from Tirso: (1) the husband proceeds cautiously, preferring to conceal his offense. Compare D. Lope's speech at the end of Act II, scene vi:

Que yo sabré proceder  
Callado, cuerdo, prudente,  
Advertido, cuidadoso,  
Solcito y asistente,  
Hasta tocar la ocasión.

and II, xix:

... Desta manera,  
El que de vengarse trata,  
hasta mejor ocasión,  
Sufre, disimula y calla.

with D. Sancho's speech in Tirso II, xviii:

Dalde la muerte. Mas ¿cómo?  
Si ve el vulgo mi venganza,  
Y estando hasta aquí secreto  
Mi agravio, le saco a plaza,  
¿Satisfarás así? No.

<sup>1</sup> Doña Leonor is in reality innocent and intends to send her lover away on hearing what he has to say. Her husband, however, is not aware of her innocence.

<sup>2</sup> Cf. *Hept*, Giraldi, *Band*.

<sup>3</sup> Cf. *ibid*.

<sup>4</sup> Cirot (*op. cit.*, p. 342) observes that the passage in Lope where Lisardo looks at the feet of Laura while she bathes them in the stream, "debíó de reírse de ver los de Laura ... " is remembered by Calderón in the following speech of D. Luis (II, xi): "Desde que en la vega os vi/Un día al amanecer. ... "

and II, xxi:

Disimulad, cuerdo honor;  
Vamos, discreta venganza;  
Sin lengua os he menester,  
Porque el prudente hace y calla.

(2) the husband decides for secret vengeance on hearing the story of one who had been offended. In Tirso, Orelío tells D. Sancho of a tailor who was beaten and was remembered as *el azotado* and not as *el sastre* (III, iii). In Calderón, D. Juan tells D. Lope his own experience of being called *el desmentido* instead of *el desagraciado* (III, vii). D. Sancho decides at once not to give occasion for anyone to point at him and say: "Éste es aquel a quien deshonoró su esposa"; and likewise D. Lope resolves that it shall not be said of him: "porque dijo la venganza lo que el agravio no dijo" (III, viii).<sup>1</sup> (3) The husband kills the lover, inviting the latter to go with him out in the bay (III, xi). Although D. Sancho in Tirso does not carry out such an act of vengeance, he contemplates it and says that he would avenge himself if his enemy were not a prince (III, vi):

Yo he leído de un marido,  
A quien un gande afrentó,  
Que en secreto se vengó.  
.  
Convidó, en medio el estío,  
A su enemigo a nadar,  
Y a título de jugar,  
Los dos entrando en el río,  
Abrazándose con él,  
A la mitad le llevó,  
Donde su injuria vengó,  
Siendo sus brazos cordel,  
Y el verdugo su corriente.  
Después salió voceando:  
Favor, que se está anegando  
Mi amigo; ayudadle gente.

Tirso was undoubtedly familiar with some version of the story in which the husband drowned the lover while in swimming; possibly Giraldi or an oral version. Calderón changes the incident slightly. D. Lope invites D. Luis to cross the bay with him in his boat. When

<sup>1</sup> This same expression occurs in Calderón's *El maestro de danzar*, II, II.

in the middle of the bay, he kills D. Luis with his sword and then upsets the boat so that it may appear that D. Luis was drowned. He then comes out on the shore lamenting the other's death. All this is similar to the incident described in the passage from Tirso. (4) The husband sets fire to his house and kills his wife (III, xvi). Compare Tirso, III, vi:

... También leí  
Que este marido prudente  
Después que dormida vió  
Su esposa, fuego pegó  
Al cuarto; ...

In Calderón, D. Lope uses the fire only as a cover for his wife's death, just as he uses the water as a cover for the death of D. Luis. There is no extant version except that of Tirso in which the wife meets death by fire. Tirso in this point may be reflecting the influence of some oral or now unknown version; and if this be true, he doubtless drew from the same tale the incident of the lover's death. Cossío mentions the fact that the thesis in both dramas is identical; that in Calderón the character of the protagonist develops as in Tirso; that the husbands in both proceed by monologues; and that in both the servants are involved in an amorous plot.<sup>1</sup> Cossío, however, is inclined to give too much credit to Tirso as Calderón's source. He does not take note of Calderón's borrowing from Lope, and goes so far as to say that Calderón apparently borrowed his title from Tirso, III, v: "El agravio que es secreto, secreta satisfacción pide." It seems more likely, however, that Calderón in the title of his drama was merely quoting from the code of honor as it was commonly understood.<sup>2</sup> It scarcely seems probable that one who knew and codified the system of honor as Calderón did would need a passage in another's play to suggest a title illustrating a point in this code. Although the greater part of his play is taken from Lope and Tirso, there is no servile imitation on the part of Calderón. As Cirot remarks, Calderón does not copy; he transforms.<sup>3</sup>

There are a few points in Calderón's play not taken from Lope or Tirso but which do belong to the history of our story: (1) The

<sup>1</sup> *Op. cit.*, pp. 64 ff.

<sup>2</sup> Similar quotations occur elsewhere in Calderón. Cf. *El médico de su honra*, III, iii: "Y que agravio que es oculto oculta venganza pide."

<sup>3</sup> *Op. cit.*, p. 326.

lover, D. Luis, appears to Doña Leonor under the disguise of a jewel merchant (I, vii). In *Chât*, the châtelain visits the wife of Fayel disguised as a jewel merchant.<sup>1</sup> (2) D. Juan, the one who informs the husband of his wife's infidelity (by suggestion only), is the husband's friend and counselor and not a servant. In the *Eracle*, Eracle, who informs the husband of his wife's infidelity, is his friend and counselor. (3) The husband makes a show of mourning at the death of his wife. This is also the case in *CNN*, *Doni*, and *Giraldi*. Although the likeness to preceding stories in these points may have been unconscious on the part of Calderón, it is nevertheless significant. The incident of the jewel merchant could have been borrowed from the common stock of novelistic devices, and the two other similarities could easily have been coincidental. But the occurrence of these incidents in a play treating the same theme as the stories of which they form a part, and the fact that the theme was common knowledge in Calderón's time, make it probable that Calderón had read or heard versions of the story containing the incidents in question.

There remains one incident in Calderón's play which is borrowed from another story. D. Luis, in explaining to D. Lope his presence in the latter's house, says that he was fleeing from three men who attacked him in the street. A similar situation occurs in Petrus Alfonsus, *Disciplina clericalis*, exemplum xi.<sup>2</sup>

Although the author states at the conclusion of his play, "Ésta es verdadera historia ...," there is apparently no historical basis for any of the story except the setting. The setting centers around the departure of King Sebastian of Portugal for war in Africa in June, 1578.<sup>3</sup> According to Damas Hinard,<sup>4</sup> what Calderón says of the enthusiasm of the Portuguese on seeing their army embark is historical.

The framework of Calderón's play is thus traceable through Tirso and Lope back to the very origins of the theme. If we name in order the versions which in some way lead up to Calderón, we have: *Eracle*, *Chât*, *CNN*, *Hept*, *Giraldi*, Tirso, Lope. It is true that the story is so transformed in Calderón's version that at first glance it little resembles the early accounts, but the essential parts of the story are there:

<sup>1</sup> *Ed. cit.*, vss. 6606-15, 6639-44.

<sup>2</sup> Ed. A. Hilka and W. Söderhjelm (Heidelberg, 1911), p. 16. Clot (*op. cit.*, p. 326, n. 2) calls attention to this fact.

<sup>3</sup> See G. Mercer Adam, *Spain and Portugal* (New York [1930]), p. 443.

<sup>4</sup> *Chefs-d'Œuvre du théâtre espagnol* (Paris, 1841), II, 159.



the infidelity of the wife; the dissembling of the husband; the discovery of the lover in the wife's room; the lover allowed temporarily to escape in order to avoid publicity; the secrecy of the vengeance; the use of water as a means of vengeance. The greatest transformation of the story was the work of Lope, and Lope had a precedent in *Hept* for his main departure from the original: vengeance by a means other than that of having the wife ride into a stream.

In the underlying theme of the play, secret vengeance for a secret offense, Calderón reflects Spanish custom regarding one phase of honor. That the husband was permitted privately to wash away with blood an offense to his honor is unquestionably accepted as a part of old Spanish law and custom.<sup>1</sup> But whether this custom was practiced as late as Calderón's time is questioned by some.<sup>2</sup> Both Rubió y Lluch<sup>3</sup> and Castro<sup>4</sup> believe that the rigid Spanish code of honor was still observed in the seventeenth century. The husband might execute his vengeance either publicly or privately, but among the upper classes it was usually private. The protagonist of Calderón's play hesitates between public and private vengeance but finally decides on the latter. The fact that the seventeenth-century writers protest against the observance of the cruel codes of honor is evidence that these were being observed. The following passage is from *La más prudente venganza*:

Pues, señora Marcia, aunque las leyes por el justo dolor permiten esta licencia a los maridos, no es ejemplo que nadie debe imitar.<sup>5</sup>

Compare the following in *A secreto agravio secreta venganza*, III, vi:

Porque será un ofendido  
Culpar las costumbres necias,  
Proceder en infinito.  
Yo no basto a reducir las,  
(Con tal condición nacimos)  
Yo vivo para vengarlas  
No para enmendarlas vivo, ...

<sup>1</sup> See D. Antonio Rubió y Lluch, *El sentimiento del honor en el teatro de Calderón* (Barcelona, 1882); and Américo Castro, "Observaciones acerca del concepto del honor en los siglos XVI y XVII," *Revista de filología española*, III (1916), 1-50. D. C. Stuart, "Honor in the Spanish Drama," *Romanic Review*, I (1910), 247-58, may be consulted in this connection. Stuart believes that the idea of vengeance in the Spanish drama was taken over from the Italian.

<sup>2</sup> See George Ticknor, *Historia de la literatura española*, ed. Pascual de Gayangos y Enrique de Vedia (Madrid, 1854), III, 68, n. 16.

<sup>3</sup> *Op. cit.*, p. 79.

<sup>4</sup> *Op. cit.*, p. 27.

<sup>5</sup> BAE, XXXVIII, 34.

The use of private vengeance in order to avoid public scandal was by no means confined to Spanish custom. The history of our story confirms this fact. The desire to avoid publicity is expressly mentioned in some of the tales. The husband in *Hept* tells his wife:

Combien que le cas que vous avez faict soit tel que vous pavez estimer, si est ce que ie ne veulx pour vous que ma maison soyt deshonorée. ...<sup>1</sup>

The husband in Contarini's account wanted to avenge his wrong without scandal. Compare also the following passage from Giraldis:

Il gentiluomo, che saggio era et accorto, et che, alle prime parole del servo, havea tra se composto, quanto di fare intendeva, non fè come molti fanno, che a romori, alle grida, alle busse, e alle palesi morti si danno, e fanno ad ognuno saper quello che con ogni studio (se fasse in loro punto d'ingegno) devrebbero tener celato.<sup>2</sup>

The condition described by Giraldis is probably the same that existed in Spain. There were many, perhaps, who let the authority of the law take charge of punishing the offense, thus making it public; whereas some, particularly of the nobility, executed their vengeance in a private and secret manner. Calderón takes an example of this latter type as the basis of his drama. The fact that he gives the problem of honor and the vindication of honor emphasis in his plays should not lead one to think that he is exaggerating customs. The exaggeration lies in overemphasizing the problem of honor rather than in overstating the custom.

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<sup>1</sup> Ed. Dillaye, II, 206.

<sup>2</sup> Ed. Venetia (1584), p. 158b.

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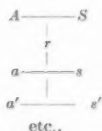
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# COMPOUNDING AND DISTRIBUTION OF SIMILES IN *PARADISE LOST*

## I

**E**ITHER simple or complex similes may be combined into groups.<sup>1</sup> Thus *A* is related to more than one *S*, sometimes to four or more. There is no better test of a poet's judgment. An immature or not completely balanced artist, a parodist, or one like, say, William Browne, who often strives for decorative or quaint effects, may at any turn smother rather than illuminate his fable, and drown his reader under a cloudburst of similes. No such love of illustration for its own sake in Milton, never any surplusage or caprice.<sup>2</sup>

<sup>1</sup> In this article I employ the following terms of analysis useful in studying similes, which, according to degree of elaborateness, fall into certain patterns. *A* = the thing compared; *S* = the simile; *r* = the point of relationship or resemblance between these two terms; *S* + *S'* + *S''* + etc. = two or more similes grouped together under a single *A*;  $A - \frac{r}{S}$  ( $A > S$ ) = Pattern 1 (Simple); Pattern 2 (Complex with Perfect Homology) may be thus pictured,



where *a*, *a'*, *a''*, etc., and *s*, *s'*, *s''*, etc. = details of *A* and *S*, respectively, explicit in the poet's amplification.

This complex pattern and two others (Complex with Logical Digression and Complex with Four Terms in a Ratio) I have considered in a study to be published elsewhere.

<sup>2</sup> In prose such massing has euphuistic associations; e.g.:

"As the hop, the pole being never so high, groweth to the end; as the dry beech kindled at the root, never leaveth until it come at the top, and one drop of poison, disperseth itself into every vein: so affection having caught hold of the heart, etc." (*Euphues*, ed. Croll and Clemens, p. 57).

"As Andromache . . . , or as Laodamia . . . : so lovers etc." (*ibid.*, p. 398).

"There is no man that runneth with one leg, no bird that flieth with one wing; so no love lasteth with one limb" (*ibid.*, p. 401).

Grouping of examples to point a generalization develops easily into parables, as in Matthew 13, and is natural to such a moralist as Seneca (e.g. *Ep.* II. 3; lxxi. 12-14; lxxvi. 8-9). But not one of Milton's groups is so related: particular, not generic, *A* is likened to particular *S*, *S'*, *S''*, etc. Very rarely, in fact, does Milton ever use even an individual simile to illustrate a generalization (see *PL*, VII, 126-28.; VIII, 605-6; XI, 311-13; XI, 535-37).

It has often been objected that the simile about Asmodeus at *PL*, IV, 168-71, which is the second of a group, is both capricious and irrelevant. But in an article to be published elsewhere I have reconsidered this passage in a new light.

To be included in compounds are all groups that have *A* in common, *r* being usually constant, though it may be magnificently variable with *S*, *S'*, *S''*, etc. To illustrate how *r* may vary, let me refer to two groups, one of simple, the other of complex similes.

1. In *PL*, II, 670-71, Milton describes the figure of Death:

Black it stood as Night,  
Fierce as ten Furies, terrible as Hell.

2. In *ibid.*, I, 302-55, occurs the supreme example in English of how a cluster of similes may mark the successive stages in an action. We are to watch the fallen angels gradually recover from their plight to rally round their leader. Six similes within fifty-four lines are grouped in two sections of three members each with Satan's call to arms ringing in between. The following outline makes clear how the variable application of *S* to *A* means a change in the content of *r*.

<i>S</i>	Leaves (Host is prostrate) . . . . .	302-5
<i>r</i>	multitude, hushed supineness, helplessness	
<i>S</i>	Sedge (Host is prostrate but in wild weltering movement) . . . .	305-7
<i>r</i>	multitude, helplessness under exterior forces	
<i>S</i>	Crushed Egyptian army (Host is prostrate, but moving under outside forces) . . . . .	307-11
<i>r</i>	broken disorder and confused helplessness	
	(Satan's charge to awaken . . . . .	314-30)
<i>S</i>	Pickets caught asleep (Hosts are roused from trance) . . . . .	332-35
<i>r</i>	speed of upspring, blind obedience	
<i>S</i>	Locusts (Hosts take to flight) . . . . .	338-43
<i>r</i>	multitude, disorderly mass milling into order; suggestion of plague	
<i>S</i>	Migrant Northern barbarians (Hosts are rudely organized under leaders) . . . . .	351-55
<i>r</i>	multitude, order, obedience, ruthlessness	

Other ways of varying successive similes would be (1) to make *A* > *S''* follow after *A*—*S'*, or vice versa; or (2) make *S''* negative. In *PL*, IV, 159-71, Milton first declares what the delightful fragrance of Paradise is like, and then suggests the very opposite. In *ibid.*, IX, 439-54, he first compares Eden to the gardens of Adonis; then comes

a simile contrasting noisome city life with a quiet country summer scene.

Milton seldom includes simile inside simile. *PL*, I, 304-11, as can be shown by analysis, presents a remarkable case of one complex simile growing by natural association out of another.<sup>1</sup> But examples of *S*<sup>1</sup> occurring inside *S*<sup>2</sup> may be found in I, 337-43; I, 351-55; and VII, 578-81.

Very simple and rapid are the following examples of compounding:

II, 308-9 (2); 530 (2); 628 (3); 670-71 (3); IV, 151-52 (2); 707-8 (4); 987 (2); VI, 829-30 (2); 856-57 (2); VII, 177 (2); VIII, 17-18 (3).

The instances in which one or more members are complex are these:

- I. 197-200 (3)+200-208; 230-32+232-37; 302-5+305-7+307-11 '332-35+338-43+351-55; 574-87 (3); 692-99 (2); 708-12+713-17+717-22; 768-75+779-81+781-88
- II. 1-2+3-4; 533-38+542-46; 659-61+662-66; 708-11+714-18; 922-24+924-27; 1017-18+1019-20
- III. 588-90+592 (2)+594-98 (8)+598-612
- IV. 159-65+168-71; 183-87+188-91+193; 268-72+272-73+273-74+275-79+280-84
- V. 261-63+264-66; 381+381-82; 745+746
- VI. 573+574-76
- VII. 292+295-97
- IX. 14-16+16-17+18-19; 386-87 (3)+388-90; 439-41 (2)+442-43+445-54; 505-7 (2)+507-10; 581+581-83
- X. 526-28 (2)+529-31
- XI. 213-15+216-20; 242+242-44

## II

Are there epic precedents for grouping similes in the way Milton groups them? In the *Aeneid* no more than two similes ever occur together;<sup>2</sup> no individual simile in any group ever runs to the extent of

<sup>1</sup> A. L. Keith (*Simile and Metaphor in Greek Poetry*, p. 13) calls the fine simile in *Iliad* xiii. 795-801 "double-headed" because it includes two sets of images to indicate stages in the action, the correspondents in *A* and *S* being arranged chiasmatically. In Homer the second set grows out of the first even more naturally than in Milton's pair at *PL*, I, 304-11.

"[Hector and the Trojan captains] set forth like the blast of violent winds, that rushes earthward beneath the thunder of father Zeus, and with marvellous din doth mingle with the salt sea, and therein are many swelling waves of the loud roaring sea, arched over and white with foam, some vanward, others in the rear; even so the Trojans, arrayed in van and rear and shining with bronze, followed after their leaders" (Lang, Leaf, and Myers).

<sup>2</sup> II. 304-5+305-8; iv. 469-70+471-73; v. 588-91+594-95; vi. 309-10+310-12; vii. 718-19+720-21; viii. 691-92+692; ix. 30-31+31-32; ix. 435-36+436-37; iv. 563-65+565-66; ix. 668-69+669-71; x. 134+135-37; x. 272-73+273-75; x. 641+642; xii. 67-68+68-69; xii. 521-22+523-25; 921-22+922-23.

three full lines, and only sixteen groups occur. (Milton has thirty groups, of which seven contain three or more similes.) A typical illustration would be *Aeneid* ix. 668-69+669-71:

The battle swells fierce; heavy as the shower lashes the ground that sets in when the Kids are rainy in the West; thick as hail pours down from storm-clouds on the shallows, when the rough lord of the winds congeals his watery deluge and breaks up the hollow vapors in the sky.

It is important to notice that Vergil likes to be climactic; that is, his more telling image is likely to be in the second member, or the second member is likely to occupy more space than the first. Milton could have learnt a double lesson from Vergil: (1) to restrain individual similes from running beyond bounds, and (2) to prefer a climactic arrangement.<sup>1</sup>

To what extent could Homer have furnished precedent? In the *Iliad* and *Odyssey* combined are ten simile groups: eight in the *Iliad*, two in the *Odyssey*; and of these ten groups only four—all of them occurring in the *Iliad*<sup>2</sup>—exceed two members. The "group" in *Iliad* xvii is only a juxtaposition of independent units; still the effect is just as impressive as any of Milton's groupings in  $A-S+S'+S''$ , etc.

<sup>1</sup> Of course he needed no Vergil to guide him in this respect. Notice the arrangement of climax in *Lycidas*, ll. 45-49:

"As killing as the canker to the rose,  
Or taintworm to the weanling herds that graze,  
Or frost to flowers, that their gay wardrobe wear  
When first the whitethorn blows,  
Such, Lycidas, thy loss to shepherd's ear."

Generally in Milton's simile groups the more elaborate members tend to follow rather than precede. In his earlier Latin groups, however—ten in number—only one (*Elegy*, VI, 67-76) is so arranged that relatively more space is given to the succeeding members.

But Milton's crowning success in climactic arrangement occurs in *PR*, IV, 10-14 +15-17 +18-20:

"But, as a man who had been matchless held  
In cunning, over-reach'd where least he thought,  
To save his credit, and for very spite,  
Still will be tempting him who foils him still,  
And never cease, though to his shame the more;  
Or as a swarm of flies in vintage time,  
About the wine-press where sweet must is pour'd,  
Beat off, returns as oft with humming sound;  
Or surging waves against a solid rock,  
Though all to shivers dash'd, the assault renew,  
(Vain battery!) and in froth or bubbles end,  
So Satan, whom repulse upon repulse  
Met ever, and to shameful silence brought,  
Yet gives not o'er, though desperate of success,  
And his vain importunity pursues."

Here the secret of effective climax is in the increasing heterogeneity between terms. The first member is a Dantesque quasi-simile; in the second the generic distance between the terms is still close (at least it is "life = life") as compared with the third simile, wherein no images could be more heterogeneous than "man = wave" or "man = rock."

<sup>2</sup> *Iliad* ll. 455-56 +59-63 +68 +69-71; ll. 474-75 +78 +79 +80-81; xiv, 394-95 +396-97 +398-99; xvii, 737-39 +742-45 +747-51 +755-57.



Homer, by his riotous discharge of images, each directed toward a different point in the field of action, certainly gets us into the mêlée of his battle.

There are in Homer only two long groups in which the members all have reference to the same subject. The first is at *Iliad* xiv. 394 ff.:

Not so loudly bellows the wave of the sea against the land, stirred up from the deep by the harsh breath of the north wind, nor so loud is the roar of burning fire in the glades of a mountain, when it springs to burn up the forest, nor calls the wind so loudly in the high leafy tresses of the trees, when it rages and roars its loudest, as then was the cry of the Trojans and Achaeans, shouting dreadfully as they rushed upon each other.<sup>1</sup>

<sup>1</sup> With this group from Homer fresh in mind, let us hear one or two of Milton's; one containing a pair of similes, each beginning like the Greek *ôtre . . . ôtre*:

"Not that more glorious, when the Angels met  
Jacob in Mahanaim, where he saw  
The field pavilioned with his guardians bright;  
Nor that which on the flaming mount appeared  
In Dothan, covered with a camp of fire,  
Against the Syrian king, who, to surprise  
One man, assassin-like, had levied war,  
War unproclaimed" (XI, 213-15 + 16-20),

and the other containing four members, each likewise introduced with a negative:

"Not that fair field  
Of Enna, where Proserpin, gathering flowers,  
Herself a fairer flower, by gloomy Dis  
Was gathered—which cost Ceres all that pain  
To seek her through the world—nor that sweet grove  
Of Daphne, by Orontes and the inspired  
Castalian spring, might with this Paradise  
Of Eden strive; nor that Nyseian isle,  
Girt with the river Triton, where old Cham,  
Whom Gentiles Ammon call and Libyan Jove,  
Hid Amalthea, and her florid son,  
Young Bacchus, from his stepdame Rhea's eye;  
Nor, where Abassin kings their issue guard,  
Mount Amara (though this by some supposed  
True Paradise) under the Ethiop line  
By Nilus' head, enclosed with shining rock,  
A whole day's journey high, but wide remote  
From this Assyrian garden" (IV, 268-72 + 72-74 + 75-79 + 80-85).

Pope wrote a note to justify Homer's simile group, and part of it might apply to Milton: "In this case his principal image is more strongly impressed on the mind by a multiplication of similes, the natural product of an imagination laboring to express something vast: but finding no single idea to answer its conceptions, it endeavors, by redoubling the comparisons, to supply this defect. The different sounds of waters, winds, and flames being, as it were, united into one. We have several instances of this sort even in so castigated and reserved a writer as Vergil, who has joined together the images of this passage in the fourth *Georgic*, and applied them, beautifully softened, to the buzzing of a beehive.

"Frigidus ut quondam silvis immurmurat Auster,  
Ut mare sollicitum stridit refluentibus undis,  
Aestuat ut clausis rapidus fornacibus ignis" [IV, 261-63]."

Milton would have been surprised if someone had told him that two hundred years later such a group as Homer's would be turned into evidence for multiple authorship. J. P. Mahaffy (*History of Greek Literature*, I, 91), referring to Homeric similes, finds that "they often repeat the same facts without any variation, and when we find two or three co-ordinated without adequate reason, it seems as if different reciting rhapsodes had composed them separately, and then the commission [of Peisistratus] included them all in their comprehensive edition."

Notice that the members in Homer's group are symmetrically equivalent rather than arranged climactically.

The other group is at *Iliad* ii. 455-71, where the first cluster exhibits climactic arrangement: the first pair comprises two and four lines respectively, the second pair one and three lines. And Homer's problem is Milton's: to convey the impression of a numberless host.<sup>1</sup>

In the *Iliad*, then, is ancient precedent. A question follows: What other ancient, what modern poets might have provided him with more than sporadic examples, with something of the richness in grouping that he perfected?

Consider Apollonius of Rhodes. In the *Argonautica* there are only three groups in which every member relates to the same situation or to the same person, and these groups have only two members apiece. Indeed, the only simile clusters in Apollonius that have more than two members are scarcely relevant examples,<sup>2</sup> because in neither of them do all the members have a similar application. Such paucity is surprising in so highly wrought a poem of nearly six thousand lines, a poem that contains many interesting and not a few splendid individual similes.

But among the post-Vergilian epic poets Milton could have found abundant precedent in Lucan.<sup>3</sup> For example, in *Pharsalia* x. 474-77 Caesar is being besieged in an Alexandrian palace, while a treacherous prince is plotting to assassinate him.

Neither the land of Thessaly, nor the barren realm of Juba, nor Pontus with the unnatural warfare of Pharnaces, nor the region round which cold Hiberus flows, nor the savage Syrtis—no country has ventured on such crimes as Egypt, with all her luxury, has committed [tr. J. D. Duff].

Such a tolling of geographical and historical proper names—is it not like Milton? (E.g., *PL*, IV, 268-84, where Eden is likened to Enna, Orontes, Nysa, and Mount Amara.)

<sup>1</sup> In *PL*, VI, 73-76, Raphael uses the image of the total kinds of birds in orderly array on wing to explain the number of the celestial hosts; and earlier in *Paradise Lost* (I, 302-11) occurs an image of innumerable leaves as a first member of a simile group; and, instead of Homer's flies to express number, Milton, later on (I, 768-88), more judiciously uses bees in the first member of a group. Such parallels not only indicate Milton's approval of the method of grouping which he found in Homer, but a kind of homage to Homer in that he sometimes employs the very imagery he finds in a Homeric group.

<sup>2</sup> *Argo*, ii. 1071-89 and iii. 1370-92.

<sup>3</sup> *Pharsalia* i. 229 + 30; i. 574-75 + 175-76 + 176-77; ii. 162-63 + 164 + 164-65; ii. 187-88 + 188-89; ii. 416-17 + 418-20; ii. 665-67 + 667 + 668; iii. 284-86 + 286-87; iv. 134-35 (2) + 135-36; iv. 549-51 + 552-56; v. 415 (2); vi. 48-49 + 49-50 + 51-53; vi. 55-56 + 57-58; vi. 65-66 + 67-68; vi. 74-75 + 76-77; vi. 90-91 + 91-92; vii. 777-78 + 779-80; ix. 781-82 + 782; ix. 798-99 + 799-800; x. 445-46 + 447-48; x. 458 (2); x. 474-77 (4).

In *Pharsalia* vi. 48-53 Lucan describes the vast siegeworks erected by Caesar against Pompey:

After this, let ancient legend praise the walls of Troy and ascribe the building to the gods; let Parthians, who fight retreating, marvel at the brick walls round Babylon. Behold! a space as great as is surrounded by the Tigris or swift Orontes—a space large enough to form a kingdom for the Assyrian nations of the East—is here enclosed by works hastily thrown up in the stress of war.

Unquestionably the impulse to group is with Lucan a source of rhetorical offence. On he proceeds (ll. 55-58):

Such an army of busy hands might have joined Sestos to Abydos, piling up soil till the sea of Phrixus was forced from its place; they might have torn Corinth loose from the wide realm of Pelops, so as to save ships from the long circuit of Cape Malea; or they might, in defiance of Nature, have changed for the better some other region of earth.

Now for four lines he takes breath, only to generate two more simile twins (ll. 64-68):

The construction of these works passed unnoticed by Pompey when first they rose: so he who dwells safe in the centre of Sicily knows not that the mad dogs of Pelorus are barking; or when the tides of Ocean and the Rutupian shore are raging, the stormy waves are not heard by the Britons of the North.

He has not yet done. Four more lines; then a breath, and straightway to another nest of wingless similes to describe the counterworks and trenches that Pompey erects against Caesar's.

[They inclose] a space equal to the distance that divides lofty Rome from little Aricia with its grove, sacred to Diana of Mycene, and in the same distance Tiber that flows by the walls of Rome would reach the sea, if the stream made no bend at any point.

Time now to sober to narrative. In the next dozen lines he tells how Pompey's army begins to suffer from famine and pestilence. Similes burgeon at the sight of it (ll. 90-92):

With such an exhalation Nesis sends forth a deathly atmosphere from her misty rocks, while the caverns of Typhon breathe forth death and madness.

Easy to gird at such writing—its lack of variety in choice of images, its lack of climactic order, its atmosphere of undigested enchiridia in the Roman schools of rhetoric. But let us not forget that in the esteem of an average lettered Englishman or Frenchman, yes, of almost any

European contemporary with Milton, the *Pharsalia* rivaled the *Aeneid*. Milton did not neglect to study it with care. He surely credited it as a work of marvelous precocity; and it would have appealed to him for its stoicism.

Lucan's simile groups have a cumulative oratorical intent. But Milton's maturer sense of proportion—call it his sense of humor?—saves him from Lucan's extravagance. This in spite of the fact that in *Paradise Lost* occurs an even larger number of groups than in the *Pharsalia*.

Vergil, not Lucan, is the model and guide for the other post-Vergilian epicists. I will cite a few simile groups from these poets.

In the *Thebeid* vi. 864–70 there is, as in Homer and in Vergil, a boxing contest as part of funeral games.

Not with such onset do two rival bulls, leaders of a herd, wage dreadful war, whilst in the middle of a meadow a white cow stands waiting to see which one will win. Breast to breast the two dash madly at each other. Passion is their goad and heals their wounds. Thus two boars fight, flashing their tusks, thus two unshapely bears engage rough battle wrestling with a shaggy grip.<sup>1</sup>

Altogether, the *Thebeid* includes grouped similes of a line or more only seven times; four groups contain two similes each, and three groups three similes each. One group, however, out of thirteen groups of very brief—verbal or phrasal—comparisons is truly noteworthy, since it includes no less than eight separate images. And the construction is interesting: the first three images are presented in a rhetorical question, and the next five similes have their terms inverted.

<sup>1</sup> Before Statius, Vergil had used this image of bulls fighting for a heifer (*Aeneid* xii. 715–22; cf. xii. 103–6; *Georgics* iii. 220–36). Ovid had put it into the *Metamorphoses* (ix. 46) and the *Amores* (ii. 12–25). Lucan had used it (*Par.* ii. 601–17), and in previous Greek epic Apollonius (*Argo.* ii. 88–89), who most probably found it in some other epic now lost, though he was certainly capable of inventing such a thing. If that bullfight began with Apollonius, by the time of Statius it was fought to a farce; and yet we find it a second time in Statius (*Thebeid* xi. 251–57), in Valerius Flaccus (v. 67–69), and of course in Quintus of Smyrna (iv. 238). In adapting it Spenser does not hesitate to follow Italian precedent (*FQ.* IV, iv, 18; Bolardo, *O. In.*, I, xi, 9). Is it any wonder that Milton is a niggard in admitting animal simile to *Paradise Lost*? When Milton would describe his games in hell, he succeeds by employing a simile (II, 533–38) which, in spite of echoes and adumbrations of it to be found in previous dramatic and non-epic literature, had never occurred in an epic poet, a simile as terrible and sublime in its evocations as it had need to be, as fresh as if Milton had been the first man to liken clouds and the electric flashes of storm to armed hosts at war.

All steeds leapt forward from their places. What canvas on the deep, what javelins in war, what clouds so swiftly fly across the heavens? less violent are winter streams, or fire; slower fall stars or gather rains, more slowly flow the torrents from the mountain-summits [*Thebeid* vi. 405-9].

On three occasions Silius Italicus groups three similes together; twice he groups four; and once he threads five short similes thus:

Faster and faster the Italian young men speed on, like a torrent, like a tempest, like a flashing flame of lightning, like the sea before Boreas, like hollow clouds that run when Eurys mingles sky and ocean [*Pun. B.* xv. 715-17].

For its rapid moving-picture of images this is excellent: stream, wind, lightning, waves, clouds; notice that the first three are in order of climax and serve to emphasize speed, the last two are also in order of climax, to emphasize mass of moving units rather than speed. The nearest parallel in Milton to any such succession of short rapid similes is in *PL*, II, 670-71, when he is describing Death:

Black it stood as Night,  
Fierce as ten Furies, terrible as Hell.

What of Dante's groups? For whether or not the *Divine Comedy* is an epic, it might in such a point of technique be of some value in taking account of Milton's precedents. But a curious fact is that in Dante groups are unusual. When we come upon such a bead roll of similes as that in the *Inferno* (XXVIII, 7-21) expository of the number of "sowers of scandal and schism" in the Ninth Circle, which in cumulative intention is not dissimilar to Milton's group in *PL*, I, 574-87, we must look upon it as exceptional. For in the *Inferno* and *Purgatorio* combined there are only thirteen groups, and of these none but the group just cited contains over two members. Perhaps Vergil's temperance in grouping guided Dante. Much more characteristic would be the following, descriptive of the monster Geryon (*Inf.*, XVII, 19-22):

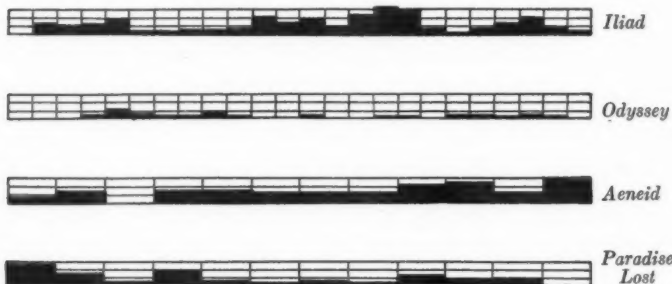
As at times the wherries lie on shore, that are part in water and part on land; and as there amongst the guzzling Germans, the beaver adjusts himself to wage his war: so lay that worst of savage beasts upon the brim, etc.

Of Ariosto's, Tasso's, and Spenser's simile groups not much need be said in seeking possible influences for Milton's practice, because the exigencies of eight- and nine-line stanza forms at once set artificial

limits. Groups of over two members are quite exceptional. And the employment of rhyme, with its rhythmic demands, serves to symmetrize the groups which do occur, in the same way as the elegiac couplet form symmetrizes the groups in Milton's Latin poems. This means a corresponding lack of climactic arrangement.

In summary: Although the example of modern poets might have done something to confirm Milton in his use of groups, he could have found sufficient precedent in the classics—in Homer, in Vergil, in late Vergilian imitators, but notably in Lucan. Down underneath Lucan's freshet of rhetoric Milton could discern live golden fish—not actually of gold but actually alive. Lucan's fault in shoaling his similes together appeared to Milton as the exact reverse of Vergil's perhaps overnice restraint. Lucan's practice warned Milton to select images from a multitude of sources and to arrange them in some order of climax. But after all and more is said about precedent, there are Milton's groups, and they are his own. As unique problems in his epic fable called for unique methods of solution, so his similes owe their final arrangement and distinction to no man but to Milton, and they will fit into no other poem but *Paradise Lost*.

### III



REMARK.—Supplementing these graphs are the following figures for frequency:

In the *Iliad*, as a whole, a simile of one sort or another ( $S^{1,2,3}$ ) occurs once in every 46 lines; a complex simile ( $S^{2,2}$ ) once in every 72 lines.

In the *Odyssey*  $S^{1,2,3}$  occurs once in every 105 lines;  $S^{2,2}$  once in every 242 lines.

In the *Aeneid* these averages are 71 and 86, respectively.

In *Paradise Lost* they are 51 and 85.

In Apollonius  $S^{2,2}$  occurs once in every 70 lines; in the *Pharsalia* once in every 63 lines; in Quintus of Smyrna once in every 45 lines.

Why has the poet distributed his similes in the particular way he has done? Let us construct a picture of distribution in *Paradise Lost* as well as in Homer and Vergil. Unit distance between two horizontal lines in the foregoing graphs is approximately seven complex similes; a glance will show that the first three books of the *Odyssey*, for example, have no complex similes at all, *Iliad* iii has seven, *Aeneid* xii has nineteen, *Paradise Lost*, Book XII, has one, etc. Though drawn according to exact references, these graphs are not designed to display exact figures; but they sufficiently epitomize relative distribution through entire works.

Milton has on the whole about the same frequency of complex simile as Vergil, though he uses a far larger number of simple similes. Apollonius, throughout his epic, consistently follows the *Iliad*, not the *Odyssey*, in frequency; while Quintus seems to have strung his fable on similes—made them a main ring of his performance. If Milton's frequency throughout *Paradise Lost* were uniform with that of his first book, he would then be approaching the frequency in Quintus.

It may be added that Dante is rife with simile and quasi-simile, one occurring to every twenty-eight lines in the *Inferno*, and one to every twenty-three lines in the *Purgatorio*.

Why the particular irregularity of distribution in *Paradise Lost*?

1. The expository, illustrative, and aggrandizing functions of simile in Milton will explain his massing in the early books. His high theme is set; he must orient his characters in our imagination in terms of our experience. But look at the *Odyssey*: an exciting theme that, too, from the very beginning, and yet not one complex simile for three books! Well, no one has as yet satisfactorily explained that simile dearth beyond the assertion that Homer chose to have it so. The specific need and purpose of massing simile in the first four books of *Paradise Lost* become clearer when we think of Satan and Satan's host. In these books Satan is likened to a Titan, to Leviathan, to the sun in eclipse, to a fleet, to a comet, to a gryphon, to the ship of the Argonauts, to the ship of Ulysses, to a weather-beaten vessel, to a vulture, to a scout, to Asmodeus, to a wolf, to a burglar, to a church hireling, to a heap of gunpowder, to a proud steed. Satan's host is likened to leaves, to sedge, to the Egyptian army, to locusts, to devastat-



ing barbarians, to the giants, to all the champions of earthly history or legend, to trees lightning-struck, to bees, to pygmies, to elves, to winds, to electric phenomena in the clouds, to Hercules Furentes. Now, although in the later books Satan is illustrated by other comparisons (morning star, earthquake, planet, city-dweller, tacking vessel, classic orator, *ignis fatuus*, dragon), as are also his fiend followers (stars, dewdrops, pearls, total kind of birds, herds, Tartars, Gorgon snakes, Megaera's locks), there does not recur such a largesse of illustration as in the beginning. There is no real need, certainly, that there should be such recurrence. Milton does not repeat the faults of a Lucan.

2. The comparative absence of simile in Books V, VI, VII, VIII, and XII is the result of the nature of the fable<sup>1</sup> and of Milton's way of narrating "things unattempted yet in prose or rhyme." Even if the characters were less transcendent in conception, even if Adam, as he gives ear to Raphael and to Michael, possessed a later mortal's experiences, it is still unlikely that the poet could introduce much simile. For complex simile is particularly inappropriate and unnatural in conversation.<sup>2</sup> Scarcely seven times in all of Homer does complex simile occur in dialogue (e.g., *Iliad* xii. 167-70; xvi. 746-48, xxiv. 41-43; *Odyssey* iv. 335-39; vi. 162-67; xvii. 126-30; xx. 66-82); and for all the exciting events that Aeneas tells Dido in *Aeneid* ii and iii, Vergil ventures to employ there only ten complex similes, which, I would agree with Landor, are about ten too many. And Milton, if we may judge from his practice, would doubtless have concurred. Even the

<sup>1</sup> As Milton himself confesses; cf. VI, 297-301:

"For who, though with the tongue  
Of angels, can relate, or to what things  
Likened on earth conspicuous, that may lift  
Human imagination to such highth  
Of godlike power?"

<sup>2</sup> William Lillington Lewis (*The Thebaid: Translated into English Verse* [Oxford, 1767]), although in general he admires Statius' similes, says this of *Thebaid* i. 193-94: "If Similies are anywhere unreasonable, they certainly are in Speeches, and especially those delivered with any Warmth. I have somewhere seen Virgil censured for putting so many Similies in Aeneas' Mouth, during the Narration of his Adventures to Dido" (I, 11 n.). Lucan, too, is a special offender.

Landor ("On the Poems of Catullus," *Last Fruit* [London, 1853], p. 279), praising the account of Dido's last hour in *Aeneid* iv, says, "Admirably as two Greek poets have represented the tenderness, the anguish, the terrific wrath and vengeance of Medea, all the works they ever wrote contain not the poetry which Virgil has condensed into about a hundred verses: omitting, as we must, those which drop like icicles from the rigid lips of Aeneas; and also the similies which, here as everywhere, sadly interfere with passion." (Italics mine.)

epic poet, in writing his dialogue, ought to cherish some illusion of natural tone.

If the fact that over 60 per cent of the *Odyssey* is in dialogue will not account for its lack of simile, it surely is a contributing cause. The suppression of simile in so conversational a work may be in part the secret of its surpassing naturalness. A contributing cause; and yet, while the *Odyssey* is two-thirds, *Paradise Lost* is, taken as a whole, almost three-fourths conversation, fully as high a proportion of conversation—and this is rather surprising to find—as in *Paradise Regained*. But whereas in both the *Odyssey* and *Paradise Regained* the conversation is not unevenly distributed, in *Paradise Lost* it is in largest proportion in five books only.<sup>1</sup> The other seven books contain most of the complex similes. Why the *Odyssey* contains so little simile may be, after all is said, just that it is the *Odyssey*; why *Paradise Lost* has so little simile in the particular Books V, VI, VII, VIII, and XII is—to recapitulate in part—explainable thus:

1. Milton could find no range of simile which would illustrate the heavenly wars, the creation, and the post-Adamic history, and at the same time be comprehensible to Adam's limited experience.

2. Suppose that Adam could have comprehended such similes, say, as are in Book I, even then, in the later books, Milton would surely have striven for the illusion of natural propriety in conversation, and would therefore have introduced scarcely more simile than he has done.

3. In relating his battles Milton must have felt that this necessity to avoid a usual epic convention could, in his unique field, be turned into a virtue.

This third point is worth some consideration. The fact that the *Iliad* is a book of feuds and combats suggests that such a context favors simile, especially in its functions of illustration and relief. Such a context certainly favors complex animal simile: it accounts for the wealth of complex simile in the last four books of the *Aeneid*; and it wins the enthusiastic approval of Tasso and Spenser. But Milton's fable gave him an opportunity to go his own way and reject such worn

<sup>1</sup> The percentages of conversation in the other seven books are: I—26 per cent; II—55 per cent; III—47 per cent; IV—69 per cent; IX—55 per cent; X—58 per cent; XI—62 per cent. In *Paradise Lost* as a whole (9,555 ll.) 7,125 lines are in conversation—74 per cent. Cf. *Paradise Regained*: 1,587 out of the 2,068 lines are in conversation—76 per cent.

currency. Under no conditions could he have illustrated the exploits of his heavenly hosts by means of the conventional symbols of ferocity and courage—lion, tiger, eagle, etc.—without diminishing his combatants. There is no warfare in Western epic told with less retarding imagery than Milton's celestial battles. When we read Books V and VI, let us forget theological pleasantries, let us look at the artist's stupendous problem, and we shall find these books comparable with any description of war or combat in previous epic or romance since Homer. Milton is direct where Spenser is decorative.<sup>1</sup> Under Satan's leadership no gewgaw lion peltry must come between resolve and execution. Before the Messiah's apocalyptic chariot wheels nothing must impede the rout of that host pell-mell into the bottomless pit. Motion? Action? Vigor? What would one have? Simile? Not Milton. Every word must count a deed, every syllable chime and clang and sympathize with the sense it carries. Relief there shall be, and some suspense, but only in and through interpretative dialogue.

It is hard to say which are the more excellent: Milton's simile clusters that describe static situations or those that illustrate action. Doubtless the latter, for here we find the greatest cluster of all, that in Book I (302-5+305-7+307-11+332-35+338-43+351-55), illustrating the recuperation of the fallen angels. And then there is Satan confronting Death in Book II (708-11+714-18), the fiends transformed into serpents in Book X (526-28+529-31), and the magnificent mythological group in Book IV of *Paradise Regained* (563-68+572-75), descriptive of how the Fiend fell, "strook with dread and anguish."

But simile clusters describing static situations are memorable: the weltering bulk of Satan in Book I (197-200+200-8); the infernal hosts accommodated within Pandemonium in Book I (768-75+779-81+781-88); the substance of the Sun in Book III (588-90+592+594-98+598-612); the Garden in Book IV (268-72+272-73+273-74+275-79+280-84); and the group in *Paradise Regained*, Book IV,

<sup>1</sup> W. C. Green's suggestion (*Homeric Similes* [London, 1877], Introd.) that a desire for directness will account for a lack of simile in *Iliad* I—"The first book of the *Iliad*, being one of rapid action, contains no simile,"—advances a generalization which is more than dubious when applied to Homer, but which may indeed be consonant with Milton's intention in Books V and VI of *Paradise Lost*.

descriptive of Satan's undaunted importunity (10-14+15-17+18-20).

It is astonishing that these simile clusters are not more in number. For a poet who could do this thing so excellently what a temptation to do it again and again! Yet the color and quality of *Paradise Lost* would suffer if the number of clusters were noticeably greater or less. As Milton uses them, they are an indispensable part of that effect of massed but controlled splendor which is very near to the heart of his epic style. Simile clusters seem to be part of the organism even while the superior claims of the high "argument" hold them sternly subordinate.<sup>1</sup> Call such clusterings baroque; they are baroque in every good sense. For what enlightened modern critics say of baroque architecture can be usefully applied to this aspect of Milton's style:

To give the picturesque its grandest scope, and yet to subdue it to architectural law—this was the baroque experiment and it is achieved. [Like Nature, it may be] fantastic, unexpected, varied, and grotesque [cf. Milton's Asmodeus simile in Book IV]. . . . But, unlike Nature, it remains subject rigidly to the laws of scale and composition. . . . It intellectualizes the picturesque.<sup>2</sup>

One great distinction of baroque architecture, over and above magnificence, is surprise, such as we find in Milton's distribution of similes. The irregularity of their appearances gives them all the more accent when they do appear, turns all the fiercer light upon their masses.

And such is not the case with Homer, no matter what Homer's other excellences may be. Simile distribution in the *Iliad* is too regularly full to bring about the baroque effect of Milton's clusters; while in the *Odyssey* simile is meager. Homer's two or three masses are exceptions that seem to be haphazard. Parsimonious Vergil saw no opportunity whatever in massing simile. In the case of Lucan, one may say that had he lived to maturity, had he completed his poem, he might have given us something beyond a suggestive rhetorical prelude to Milton's later achievement.

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<sup>1</sup> Notwithstanding the effect they give of luxuriance, they also give the effect of necessity; so that J. C. Scaliger would have approved of them despite his warning: "temperantur ita, ut ne luxuriant: ac necessaria, non addita videantur" (*Poetics* [2d ed.], p. 328).

<sup>2</sup> Geoffrey Scott, *The Architecture of Humanism* (Boston and New York, 1914), pp. 85-86.

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## GOLDSMITH AND THE "ENGLISH LIVES"

RECENT investigation into Goldsmith's history has not only revealed new facts in his career, but has also made possible the establishment of new relationships, which had escaped the attention of the biographers, between facts already known. Among the new facts is the identification as Goldsmith's of *A Concise History of England*, published by Dodsley in March, 1765.<sup>1</sup> This work has proved to be practically an abridgment of the *History of England in a Series of Letters from a Nobleman to His Son*, which was published by Newbery on June 26, 1764. Since the first of these productions was sold to Dodsley within less than two months after the latter had been published by Newbery (see Item III below), the question arose how best to explain so curious and so sudden a transference of property. In the process of finding the most reasonable solution to this problem, it became necessary to include in the investigation certain bits of contemporary evidence scattered between the years 1763 and 1765. I have here attempted to combine these into a hypothesis which may serve, among other things, to throw light upon the fate of the "Chronological History of the Lives of Eminent Persons of Great Britain and Ireland," which Goldsmith, on March 31, 1763, contracted to write for Dodsley, and to solve, tentatively at least, the bibliographical problem of the "English Lives" mentioned in a Newbery memorandum of October 29, 1764, and not hitherto identified. The evidence to be considered is as follows:

I. Below is the text of the agreement of March 31, 1763, written in Goldsmith's hand, for the biographical history:

It is agreed between Oliver Goldsmith, M.B. on one hand, and James Dodsley on the other, that Oliver Goldsmith shall write for James Dodsley a book called a Chronological History of the Lives of Eminent Persons of Great Britain and Ireland, or to that effect, consisting of about two volumes 8vo., about the same size and letter with the Universal History published in 8vo.; for the writing of which and compiling the same, James Dodsley shall pay Oliver Goldsmith three guineas for every printed sheet, so that the whole

<sup>1</sup> See *Notes and Queries*, CLIII (1927), 3-4. The *Concise History* was published by Dodsley as the second part of a work entitled the *Geography and History of England*.

shall be delivered complete in the space of two years at farthest; James Dodsley, however, shall print the above work in whatever manner or size he shall think fit, only the Universal History above mentioned shall be the standard by which Oliver Goldsmith shall expect to be paid.

Oliver Goldsmith shall be paid one moiety upon delivery of the whole copy complete, and the other moiety, one half of it at the conclusion of six months, and the other half at the expiration of twelve months after the publication of the work, James Dodsley giving, however, upon the delivery of the whole copy, two notes for the money left unpaid. Each volume of the above intended work shall not contain more than five-and-thirty sheets, and if they should contain more, the surplus shall not be paid for by James Dodsley. Oliver Goldsmith shall print his name to the said work.<sup>1</sup>

II. On March 10, 1764, Goldsmith wrote the following letter to Dodsley from Gray's Inn:

SIR I shall take it as a favour if you can let me have ten guineas per bearer, for which I promise to account. . . . PS I shall call to see you on Wednesday next with copy &c.<sup>2</sup>

III. On August 8, 1764, Goldsmith acknowledged the receipt of thirty guineas from Dodsley for "writing and compiling a history of England."<sup>3</sup>

IV. Goldsmith is credited in a Newbery memorandum of 1767, under date of October 29, 1764, with eight guineas "on account of English Lives."<sup>4</sup>

V. On October 31, 1764, Goldsmith received from Dodsley ten guineas "for an Oratorio [the *Captivity*], which he and Mr. Newbery are to share."<sup>5</sup>

VI. In another Newbery memorandum, undated, but probably belonging to late 1764 or early 1765, occurs the item, "79 Leaves of the History of England," with no amount set down.<sup>6</sup>

The first step in assimilating these data into a hypothesis is to identify the "copy" mentioned in Item II above with the biographical history rather than, as has already tentatively been done,<sup>7</sup> with

<sup>1</sup> James Prior, *Life of Oliver Goldsmith, M.B.*, I (1837), 465-66. This work will hereafter be referred to as *Life*.

<sup>2</sup> *Collected Letters of Oliver Goldsmith*, ed. Balderston (1928), p. 73.

<sup>3</sup> Katharine C. Balderston, *A Census of the Manuscripts of Oliver Goldsmith*, p. 31.

<sup>4</sup> *Life*, II, 155.

<sup>5</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 3.

<sup>6</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 58. The entries "*Copy of the Traveller, a Poem—21 0 0*" and "*Get the Copy of Essays for which paid—10 10 0 as half, and Mr. Griffin to have the other*" in the same memorandum suggest the approximate date given above. The first edition of *The Traveller* appeared in December, 1764, and the *Essays* in June, 1765.

<sup>7</sup> *Collected Letters*, p. 73, n. 3.



the *Concise History*. There is indeed a very considerable difficulty in the way of the latter identification. The *Concise History*, we know, relies very closely upon the text of the *History of England in a Series of Letters*—so closely, in fact, as to be little more than an abridgment of the latter work. Goldsmith, therefore, could hardly have written the *Concise History* without having the original before him. But the original, at the time the letter to Dodsley was written (March 10), was either still in manuscript, or else in process of passing through the press, for the date of its publication was June 26. And even if it had not yet gone to press, it was very probably not in Goldsmith's hands on March 10, since he had been paid in full for the work on October 11 of the previous year.<sup>1</sup> In the remotely conceivable case that Goldsmith had not yet turned over the copy of the *History of England in a Series of Letters* to Newbery, we still cannot suppose that Goldsmith would have been so idiotically disingenuous as to sell to Dodsley, some three months before the original was to appear, an abstract of a work which belonged outright to the author's friend and benefactor Newbery. If, then, the "copy" mentioned in Item II does refer to the *Concise History*, we must assume that some very unusual arrangement had been made with Newbery. It would have been unusual enough if Goldsmith had undertaken to abridge the *History of England in a Series of Letters* for Newbery himself before the first work had appeared. And, although it can be shown that Newbery almost certainly had a part in the ultimate transaction by which Dodsley became the owner of the *Concise History*, we have absolutely no reason to infer from the evidence we have that Newbery gave his consent to such a transaction before his own work had been published.

A much simpler and more probable explanation of the facts offers. We may suppose—and there is not a shred of evidence against such a supposition—that neither Goldsmith nor Dodsley at once abandoned the somewhat ambitious biographical history contracted for between them on March 31, 1763. In this contract (see Item I) Dodsley had agreed to pay Goldsmith as much as two hundred and ten pounds for his own handiwork. No transaction involving so large a sum of money had yet come within his experience. It is highly unlikely, therefore, needy as he always was, that he would have lightly abandoned such

<sup>1</sup> *Life*, I, 479, 498.

an opportunity. Now in March, 1764, when he wrote the letter to Dodsley, Goldsmith, as is patent from his letter, was pressed for funds. Certainly in such an emergency he would normally have bethought himself of a potential asset already at hand, rather than of a new and doubtful expedient such as selling an abstract of a work not yet in print to another bookseller. It is much more reasonable, therefore, to infer that the "copy" mentioned in Item II refers to the biographical history, and consequently that this project was not abandoned at the earliest<sup>1</sup> until about the time that the *History of England in a Series of Letters* appeared (June 26).

If the project for the biographical history was not abandoned until the middle of 1764, the letter of March 10 appears, furthermore, in a new light. We do not know that Goldsmith received the ten guineas so urgently requested. Neither, however, do we know that this particular communication between Goldsmith and Dodsley was unique. The informality of the note, comprising at once a request and a promissory note (see Item II), reminds us of the familiar relations already established between Goldsmith and Newbery. Had Dodsley by the middle of 1764 become in some sort a creditor of Goldsmith's much as Newbery had long since and chronically become?

Against this view stands the rigidity of the contract which stipulates that Goldsmith is to be paid the first "moiety upon delivery of the whole copy complete." But indigent authors, as the publishers of Johnson's dictionary discovered,<sup>2</sup> and as Griffin found later in the case of Goldsmith's *Animated Nature*,<sup>3</sup> could by no means be dealt with according to the strict letter of the law. Moreover, by 1763 Goldsmith was beginning to be recognized by those who knew him as an author of promise.<sup>4</sup> It may well have been Dodsley who inserted in the contract the provision that Goldsmith was to print his name to the biographical history (see Item I). He could, therefore, by this time expect to be treated with more consideration than the ordinary

<sup>1</sup> In one of Mrs. Fleming's accounts occurs an entry dated May 7, 1764, which reads, "Gave the boy for carrying the parcel to Pall Mall—0 0 8" (*ibid.*, II, 12). Dodsley's shop was in Pall Mall, and this may well have been the last "copy" of the biographical history that he received.

<sup>2</sup> Boswell, *Life of Johnson*, ed. G. B. Hill (New York), I, 211, n. 4, also p. 332.

<sup>3</sup> *Life*, II, 200-201, 218, etc.

<sup>4</sup> See *Life of Johnson*, I, 473. Johnson is reported to have said in 1763, "Dr. Goldsmith is one of the first men we now have as an authour, . . ."

hack-writer. Furthermore, James Dodsley's reputation as a business man is to be considered. Bishop Percy, than whom, if we remember his dealings with the booksellers in the matter of his memoir of Goldsmith, no one was harder to please, thus compared the two members of the firm of R. and J. Dodsley in 1760: "I am every day more convinced of the truth of Baskerville's distinction between the two brothers, at least thus far: *that as a tradesman Mr James Dodsley is the more generous to deal with*: I could also add, unless Mr R. D. influences him."<sup>1</sup> It has even been suggested<sup>2</sup> that Robert Dodsley, though no longer an active member of the firm, advised the stipulation regarding payment for the biographical history as a bulwark against his brother's unbusiness-like generosity.<sup>3</sup> Negatively, then, if we consider the practice of other booksellers, Goldsmith's position as a rising author, and the generous nature of his employer, the contract need present no obstacle to our assuming that Goldsmith did receive some advance for his work on the biographical history.

Positively, the assumption that Dodsley by the middle of 1764 found himself in the uneasy position of a creditor who can foresee no adequate return upon his investment provides the most reasonable explanation of the subsequent events. Thus on August 8, 1764—less than two months after the appearance of the *History of England in a Series of Letters*—we find Dodsley crediting Goldsmith with thirty guineas for "writing and compiling" the *Concise History* (Item III). If, as the foregoing discussion would lead us to believe, Dodsley did not begin negotiations for this work until the original history had appeared (June 26), his interest in a history of England developed rather suddenly. Furthermore, Dodsley allowed Goldsmith for this "abstract"<sup>4</sup> of his own work three guineas a sheet,<sup>5</sup> or the same rate of payment he was to have received for the biographical history, and cer-

<sup>1</sup> Quoted in R. Straus, *Robert Dodsley* (London, 1910), p. 287.

<sup>2</sup> By Mr. Straus. See *ibid.*, pp. 259–60. It may indeed have been Robert who in 1764 brought the relations between his brother and Goldsmith to an end.

<sup>3</sup> Robert Dodsley himself knew Goldsmith pleasantly (see *Life of Johnson*, III, 43–44), and had generously enough published his *Enquiry into the Present State of Polite Learning in Europe* in the days before Goldsmith seems even to have decided to become a professional author (see *Collected Letters*, pp. xxx–xxxiii).

<sup>4</sup> The *Concise History* is termed an "abstract" in the work itself. See *Geography and History of England* (1765), p. 249.

<sup>5</sup> He was paid thirty guineas (see Item III). The text of the *Concise History* contains just under ten octavo sheets.

tainly not less proportionately than he seems to have received for the original of the former work, the *History of England in a Series of Letters*.<sup>1</sup> When we remember, besides, that this hastily acquired "abstract" was used by Dodsley merely to expand a geographical work which he had had by him for twenty years,<sup>2</sup> it is difficult to avoid the conclusion that the publisher was trying to make the best of a bad bargain. A similar explanation suggests itself in regard to the transaction of October 31 (Item V), in which Dodsley allowed Goldsmith ten guineas for a share in an oratorio. Newbery was to have the other share, and apparently neither publisher ever thought the work worth bringing out.<sup>3</sup>

About the time of the appearance of the *History of England in a Series of Letters*, then, Dodsley seems to have abandoned the project of the biographical history. Possibly he felt that he was forestalled.<sup>4</sup> More probably, however—especially when we consider Goldsmith's procrastinating nature—the publisher became aware about the middle of 1764 that the second of the two years specified in the contract was well under way, and that his chances of receiving eleven-hundred-odd pages within the period of the contract were rapidly sinking. Anxious, therefore, to get clear of the whole business, he took what he could get to reimburse himself, and, as we shall see, he seems even to have returned the copy already in his possession to Goldsmith. It is perhaps not without significance that we have no record of any business relations between Goldsmith and Dodsley after the purchase of the share

<sup>1</sup> Goldsmith, according to Prior's reckoning, received not more than fifty pounds for this work (see *Life*, I, 497-98). I see no justification, however, for fixing the sum received, as Forster seems to do, at exactly £42 (*Life and Times of Oliver Goldsmith*, I [1877], 301). Mr. Temple Scott (*Oliver Goldsmith Bibliographically and Biographically Considered* [1928], p. 119) mentions a memorandum among the Newbery-Goldsmith papers dated February 11, 1763, in which Goldsmith is credited with £21 for the history, but from a conference with Mr. Elkins and an examination of his collection, I can discover only the two receipts of October 11, 1763, originally quoted by Prior (*op. cit.*, I, 479, 498). These seem obviously to refer to a single transaction whereby Goldsmith received £21 as the final payment for the work. How much he received before, we have, so far as I know, no evidence.

<sup>2</sup> The previous edition of the *Geography and History* appeared in 1744.

<sup>3</sup> Mr. Iolo Williams (*Seven XVIIIth Century Bibliographies*, p. 176) says, "Goldsmith wrote this Oratorio in 1764," but see Temple Scott, *op. cit.*, pp. 162-63.

<sup>4</sup> Possibly Dodsley had by this time heard of the biographical history projected by James Granger, which, though it did not appear until 1769, was in process of composition as early as April 24, 1764 (see *Letters between the Rev. James Granger, M.A. . . . and Many of the Most Eminent Men of His Time* [London, 1805], pp. 5-7). I know no work published in 1764-65 of which Dodsley might have been afraid.

in the oratorio until 1774, when the publisher, possibly again moved by his better nature, allowed Goldsmith five guineas for a slipshod revision of his *Enquiry into the Present State of Polite Learning*.<sup>1</sup>

But Newbery's part in the foregoing transactions remains to be explained. If it is hardly conceivable that he would have permitted the sale of the *Concise History* to Dodsley before the *History of England in a Series of Letters* had been published, it is only less improbable, philanthropic bookseller though he was, that Newbery, without some compensation, would have looked with favor on such a sale immediately after the publication of his own history. We have, indeed, evidence that Newbery was concerned in some way with the sale of the *Concise History*. The entry "79 Leaves of the History of England" in the Newbery memorandum already quoted (see Item VI) has hitherto been considered to refer to a work with which, from a careful examination of it, I am able to say that Goldsmith had nothing to do, namely, the eleventh edition of a *New History of England by Question and Answer*, supposed to have been first published in 1762.<sup>2</sup> In point of fact, these "79 Leaves" correspond exactly to the number of octavo leaves<sup>3</sup> in the text of the *Concise History*, and as the memorandum belongs to the latter part of 1764, or the early part of 1765, the inference that the entry refers to the latter work seems inescapable. Since no amount is set down on the memorandum opposite the "79 Leaves," we do not know what arrangement was made with Newbery in the transaction. But on October 29, 1764—two days before Goldsmith acknowledged the receipt from Dodsley of ten guineas for a share in the oratorio (see Item V)—we find Newbery crediting Goldsmith with eight guineas "on account of English Lives" (see Item IV).<sup>4</sup> To attempt to follow step by step each of the three persons through all these transactions would be to speculate too far. If we identify the "English Lives" with the biographical history, it may

<sup>1</sup> *Life*, II, 509.

<sup>2</sup> *Ibid.*, I, 401-2. I shall deal more fully with this problem elsewhere. It may, however, be said that the eleventh edition of the *New History*, with which Prior identifies it, had been advertised in May, 1761, over a year before the advertisement which Prior saw, and that the work was a duodecimo rather than an octavo volume, which completely demolishes his theory.

<sup>3</sup> The *Concise History* contains 158 pages.

<sup>4</sup> The entry "Taylor's Works" which appears together with the "English Lives" under the date of October 29 in the memorandum may also have been involved in this series of transactions (see *Life*, II, 155).

seem strange, for example, to find Goldsmith, after so long a period of what appears to have been frenzied finance, coming out at the end with eight guineas still to his credit. But it should be borne in mind that the original contract for the biographical history called for so large a sum as £210. If, therefore, Dodsley, intent as he seems to have been on freeing himself from business relations with Goldsmith, had returned to the author the copy of the biographical history which had been so far completed, and had taken in exchange the *Concise History* and a share in the oratorio, it is quite possible that Newbery, who showed no desire to break off relations with Goldsmith, would have been willing to take over that copy in return for a part of his interest in these works, the first of which perhaps he did not want, and the second of which he seems to have regarded as a doubtful investment, and to allow Goldsmith eight guineas "on account" besides. Certainly, so far as our present knowledge goes, the biographical history is the only work of Goldsmith's which might be designated "English Lives." That Newbery published this work in a single volume I doubt. Whether he published any part of it in any of the numerous periodicals of the day remains to be discovered. Meanwhile, our hypothesis may serve to throw light on some of the obscure events in Goldsmith's career during 1763 and 1764.

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## DER KAMPF DES JUNGEN MENSCHEN IM NEUEREN DEUTSCHEN DRAMA

IN DEN ersten Jahrzehnten dieses Jahrhunderts ging der Kampf des jungen Menschen in vielen Variationen über die deutsche Bühne.<sup>1</sup> Nicht nur im Drama, auch in Gedichten und Romanen erliesz der Jüngling seinen feurigen Aufruf gegen die Schäden der Zeit, die er oft in seinem Vater verkörpert zu finden glaubte. Wohl selten haben sich die Vertreter der neuen und der alten Generation als schroffere Gegensätze und erbittertere Feinde gegenüber gestanden als in einigen dieser Revolutionsdramen, die den Jüngling als den Überwinder seines Vaters verherrlichen.

In literarhistorischen Darstellungen wird dieses Motiv in der Regel als das Sohn-Vater-Motiv bezeichnet, und zwar wird der Begriff "Sohn-Vater" im weitesten Sinne gefasst. Nicht nur den Gegensatz zwischen Sohn und Vater bezeichnet er, sondern auch die Gegenüberstellung von "alter und neuer Weltstimmung, Impression und Expression."<sup>2</sup> In diesem Sinne umfasst das Motiv daher das Gegenüber von Generation und Generation, deren jede durch ein oder mehrere Mitglieder der Familie vertreten sein mag. Der Begriff umschlieszt also das Verhältnis des jungen Menschen (Sohn, Tochter oder Kinder) zu der älteren Generation (Vater, Mutter oder Eltern), und eben aus diesem Grunde dehnt man den Begriff hinüber in das Gebiet der erblichen Belastung in geschlechtlicher Beziehung.<sup>3</sup> Bei einer eingehenden Behandlung des Sohn-Vater Motivs an sich dürfte eine sorgfältige Einengung und Definition dieses Begriffes geboten sein.<sup>4</sup> Die vor-

<sup>1</sup> Vergl. *Das deutsche Drama* (in Verbindung mit Julius Bab, Albert Ludwig, Friedrich Michael, Max J. Wolff und Rudolf Wolkan herausgegeben von Robert F. Arnold) (München, 1925), S. 796.

<sup>2</sup> Vergl. Hans Naumann, *Die deutsche Dichtung der Gegenwart* (1885-1924) (Stuttgart, 1924), S. 118.

<sup>3</sup> *Ibid.*, S. 131.

<sup>4</sup> August C. Mahr hat in einer anregenden Arbeit (*Dramatische Situationsbilder und -bildtypen* [Stanford University Press, 1928]) den Versuch gemacht, für künftige Forschungen über Motive und Probleme im Drama neue Gesichtspunkte zu geben.



liegende kurze Besprechung aber will nicht den Sohn-Vater Kampf im engeren Sinne beschreiben, sondern den Kampf der Jugend überhaupt; sie will die Natur und das Ziel der jugendlichen Revolution im neueren deutschen Drama in groszen Zügen schildern; sie will ferner auch auf die Kampfziele des jungen Menschen in früheren Dramen hinweisen und, wenn möglich, die tieferen Ursachen des Kampfes erkennen. Die im weiteren besprochenen Dramen lassen sich unter den folgenden Gesichtspunkten zusammenfassen:

1. Der junge Mensch kämpft gegen die Umwelt. Er protestiert gegen politische, wirtschaftliche, soziale und kulturelle Zustände, die ihm verwerflich und unhaltbar scheinen. Die wichtigsten Dramen, in denen dies der Fall ist, sind: Sorge, *Der Bettler* (1912); Lauckner, *Schrei aus der Strasse* (1922); Johst, *Der junge Mensch* (1916) und *Die fröhliche Stadt* (1924); Toller, *Die Wandlung* (1919); Wildgans, *Dies Irae* (1919).

2. Der Aufruf des jungen Menschen richtet sich in der Hauptsache gegen den Vater als den Inbegriff und die Verkörperung aller Hindernisse auf dem Wege zu Fortschritt, Freiheit und Glück. Dies ist im wesentlichen der Fall in: Hasenclever, *Der Sohn* (1914); Werfel, *Spiegelmensch* (1921); Frank, *Herzog Heinrichs Heimkehr* (1921); Lauckner, *Predigt in Litauen* (1919); von der Goltz, *Vater und Sohn* (1922); E. Ludwig, *Friedrich, Kronprinz von Preussen* (1914); Burte, *Katte* (1914); P. Ernst, *Preuzengeist* (1917); von Bötticher, *Friedrich der Grosze* (1917); Kayser, *Die Koralle* (1917).

3. Der junge Mensch ringt weder mit den unheilvollen Zuständen der Gegenwart noch mit dem Vater oder den Eltern als deren spezifischer Verkörperung; er kämpft gegen uralte, sündhafte Triebe seiner Ahnen, als deren Opfer er untergeht. Zu den Dramen dieses Inhalts gehören: von Unruh, *Ein Geschlecht* (1918); Bronnen, *Vatermord* (1920); G. Hauptmann, *Indipohdi* (1922).

Unter den expressionistischen Dramen, die als eine tiefgründige Zeitkritik des jungen Menschen gelten können, steht an erster Stelle *Der Bettler* von Johannes Sorge (1912). Der junge Mensch, ein Dichter und Denker, und als solcher der berufene Deuter und Kritiker seiner Zeit, lebt grübelnd in den ewigen Problemen der Menschheit und erkennt, dasz ihr Streben wirr ist und ohne Ziel. Gefühllos und blind sieht er die Menschen durchs Leben taumeln. "Unserer Zeit," sagt er,

„fehlt das grosse Herz, das sich hingibt bis zur Demut, die grosse Weltgüte, die sich hingibt bis zur Torheit, die grosse Blindheit, die so tief sieht in alles Geheimnis—! Es fehlt der Seher.“ Diese seine Erkenntnis entartet jedoch nicht zu einem tätigen Kampfe des Kindes wider seine Eltern. Milde durch seine Einsicht, still und gütig, steht der Sohn tröstend vor seiner vergrämten, den Tod herbeisehnenden Mutter. Mit tiefem Verständnis hört er die Bitten seines irren Vaters, der nach visionären Vorbildern eines anderen Gestirns, des Mars, die Erde umgestalten will, und mit seinen irren Plänen das Zeitalter der Maschine darstellt, die Zeit der Neureichen und Bettelarmen zugleich. In einer Szene von unvergesslicher Zartheit und Schönheit finden Vater und Mutter ihre Erlösung durch ein Gift, das ihnen der Sohn nicht als Mörder, sondern als mitfühlendes, dankbares Kind in den Wein gibt. Den Weg zur Umkehr sieht dieser Sohn in der Kunst, die den Menschen in ferner Zukunft „aus Rausch und Ragen der Gerüste, aus tausenden Fährnissen der Räder . . . geläutert vom Schwarm der Zufälle . . . als Siegerin eiserner Nöte“ hinaufführen wird in Gottes Hut.

Die Zeit der Maschine und der Gier ist dem Jüngling gleichzeitig blinde Zeugin des sozialen Elends, das schon der Dichtung der neunziger Jahre so reichlichen Stoff geliefert hatte. Ein verelendeter Student, das unschuldige Opfer von Hunger, Not und Verzweiflung, klagt in Lauckners *Schrei aus der Strasse* (1922) über das unbeschreibliche Elend, das „reglos und unverrückbar dasteht wie ein steinernes Tier.“ Nirgends findet er Licht, nirgends Hoffnung, nirgends eine Spur der Freude. „Aus jedem Fenster tropfen die Sorgen . . . in jedem Winkel hockt Verzweiflung . . . aus jedem Torweg kommt ein Jammern.“ Dumpfe Chöre stummen Leids ziehen Tag und Nacht über die Stadt hin.<sup>1</sup> Verlogenheit, Misstrauen und erbärmliche Leere sind die

<sup>1</sup> Tief empfundenes Mitleid ist ein wesentlicher Grundzug der naturalistischen Dichtung, die das hoffnungsloseste Elend in allen Farben geschildert hatte: Der völlig berechtigte, durch Hunger und Not verursachte Aufstand der Weber (in Hauptmanns gleichnamigem Drama von 1892) bricht unter den Waffen des Militärs zusammen, und alle Opfer dieser Enterbten des Schicksals erweisen sich als vergebens. Hannele, schon als Kind von der Bürde ihres Leids erdrückt, wirft sich in den Dorfteich, und sterbend wird sie in das Zimmer der Armenhäuser getragen, deren grauenvolle Verwahrlosung sich vor unsern Augen abspielt. Hunger zwingt den ehrlichen Helden in Langmanns *Barthel Turaszer* (1897) zur Annahme einer Bestechungssumme, mit der er Weib und Kind vor dem Hungertode zu erretten sucht, aber seine Kleinen, die nicht mehr an Nahrung gewöhnt sind, sterben dennoch. Dieser Zug echten Mitgefühls ist in nicht vielen der expressionistischen Jugenddramen zu finden. Sehr stark tritt er hervor bei Lauckner.

schleichende Krankheit der Menschen. Selbst zur Klarheit des Wunsches fehlt ihnen die Kraft. Wie kranke Tiere, die nicht reden können, taumeln sie dahin; und die Sprache, die ihnen zur Verständigung und Erlösung dienen könnte, sie dient allein als Schleier und Hülle ihrer Angst. "Gebunden an ein Irren, das geschlechtstief in ihnen wurzelt, . . . lauern sie einsam auf Erlösung Tag und Stunde." . . . "Hört das die Jugend nur?" lautet die grell anklagende Frage des jungen Menschen.

Eine ungeheure Last liegt auf den Menschen, eine Last so drückend und gewaltig, dasz auch der Glauben, die Religion, die Kirche, das heilige Buch kaum noch Trost und Halt gewähren.<sup>1</sup> *Die fröhliche Stadt* von Hanns Johst (1924) zeigt in acht Bildern die skeptisch-relativistisch gestimmte Jugend, die an nichts mehr glaubt, weder an die Autorität des Vaters noch an die Bibel, weder an die Existenz Gottes noch an irgend etwas, was einst die Grundlage der Familie und des Staates war. Der Vater erzählt einer seiner Töchter, wie man in der alten Zeit gelebt hat: "Man hat nicht viel gedacht," sagt er, "sparsam sein, in die Kirche gehn, das hat alles zusammen gehört . . . , das hat man an die siebzig Jahre so gehalten. . . ." Über solche Worte gehen die Lehren des Vaters nicht hinaus. Alt, untätig, von seinen Kindern abhängig, fühlt er den überwältigend starken Einfluß der Ausenwelt, gegen die er machtlos ist. Überdies ist er selbst unsicher geworden; die ungeheuren Zeichen der neuen Ordnung weisz er sich nicht zu deuten; vereinsamt steht er in einer neuen Zeit. Nur in seiner Tochter Marietta lebt noch ein Stück des alten Geistes: "Du fallest die Hände," sagt sie, "statt damit dreinzuschlagen! So lange ein Vater atmet, hat er die Kraft, den stärksten Athleten zu züchtigen, wenn er zufällig sein Sohn ist!" Dann beklagt sie, dasz der Vater selbst dem heiligen Buche misztraue und dem Gesetz und der ganzen Ordnung, die darin gefordert werde, und dasz von einem unsicheren, schwankenden Gemüte keine starke Führung zu erwarten

<sup>1</sup> Schon der Naturalismus hatte Skepsis und Freisinn vorbereitet; er war sozialistisch gestimmt und betrachtete die Kirche als Stütze des Klassenstaates (vergl. Wiegand, *Geschichte der deutschen Dichtung* [Köln, 1922], S. 341). Bestimmend hatten gewirkt die Darwinistische Abstammungslehre, die Summe der naturwissenschaftlichen Erkenntnisse und die materialistische Philosophie jener Zeit. So stellt Hermann Hutmann in Dreyers *Probekandidat* (1899) Forschung über Religion. Pfarrer Hoppe in Halbes *Jugend* (1893) ist weltklug und liberal; er wirkt als rechter Antipode des zelotischen Kaplans Gregor von Schigorski. Auch der Hilfsprediger Haffke in Sudermanns *Johanniefener* (1900) ist alles andere als orthodox.

sei. Der junge Mensch wird hier zum Kläger gegen eine Zeit ohne Glauben und Autorität, gegen eine Generation, die den groszen Forderungen der Stunde nicht gewachsen ist und daher die Aufgaben des Tages ungelöst auf die unerfahrene Jugend abwälzt.

Unerfahren, aber begierig nach Leben und Kampf ist auch der Held in Johsts *Der junge Mensch* (1916), einer Dichtung, die mit gutem Recht den Nebentitel *Ein extatisches Szenarium in acht Bildern* führt. Der Jüngling steht hier inmitten einer veralteten Welt, die er von Grund auf ändern und umformen will, aber ein Chaos von Eindrücken, Gefühlen und Gedanken führt ihn am Ende zurück zur Wirklichkeit. Wir sehen ihn zunächst in der Schule unter der strengen Obhut der Professoren Griechenseelig und Sittensauber,<sup>1</sup> und folgen ihm, da er der Freundin eines Mitschülers, einer rührenden Maria-Magdalena Gestalt, als barmherziger Samariter zur Seite steht. Wir hören von seiner Verirrung im Freudenhause, seiner Not und Verzweiflung in der Dachstube, seiner Bedrängnis gegenüber der hastenden, atemlosen Menschenmenge in der Bahnhofshalle, wo er ausruft: "Und wenn die Menschen wie der Blitz fahren lernen, sie kommen um keine Minute früher oder später ans Ziel." Als eine junge Christusfigur tritt er ins Leben; in einer Anstalt für Nervenkranken soll er von seinem jugendlichen Wahne geheilt werden. Wir folgen ihm weiter in die Einsamkeit der Berge, ins Krankenzimmer und endlich an sein Grab, wo seine verständnislose Mutter zu ihrem Gatten die bezeichnenden Worte spricht: "Er war nicht wie ich . . . und nicht wie du. Solche Kinder burden einem Sorgen, bis das Kreuz einbricht!"<sup>2</sup> Worauf der Vater antwortet: "Wir haben unsere Pflicht getan. Wir haben ihn begraben und geliebt." Die bitterste Lieblosigkeit unfähiger Eltern liegt in den Worten "begraben und geliebt." Mit einer phantastisch-faustischen Wendung enden diese Bilder. Der Jüngling erhebt sich aus dem Grabe. Er beschlieszt, das Jonglieren mit Begriffen und Plänen zu lassen und von nun an im tätigen Leben seine Befriedigung zu suchen.

<sup>1</sup> Die Lehrer Knüppeldick und Fliegentod in Wedekinds *Frühlingserwachen* (1906), jener gewaltigen Anklage gegen eine ganze Generation von Eltern und Lehrern, kommen einem unwillkürlich in den Sinn.

<sup>2</sup> Der Anklang an Meister Antons Worte (in Hebbels *Maria Magdalena*, Akt 1, Szene 5), ist unverkennbar: ". . . Kinder sind wie Äcker, man sät sein gutes Korn hinein, und dann geht Unkraut auf." Hier wie dort liegt eine Kluft zwischen Eltern und Kindern. Meister Antons letzte Worte lauten: "Ich verstehe die Welt nicht mehr." Die Enge und Härte der kleinbürgerlichen Moral hat zwischen Jung und Alt eine unüberbrückbare Schranke errichtet.

So weist der Dichter dem jungen Menschen den Weg aus dem Traum in die Wirklichkeit, aus dem Sehnen zum Wollen und zur Tat.<sup>1</sup>

Nicht gegen die Umwelt, sondern spezifisch gegen die Eltern richtet sich der Angriff des Jünglings in *Dies Irae* von Anton Wildgans (1919). Die Tragik des aussichtslosen Kampfes beruht hier auf dem Verhältnis zweier Menschen, die durch keinerlei Bande der Sympathie oder der Liebe verbunden sind; die Bitterkeit und Heftigkeit ihrer Kämpfe treibt das eigene Kind zum Selbstmord:

Der Sohn, durch das Verhältnis seiner Eltern zur Einsamkeit verdammt, steht vor der Berufswahl. Vater und Mutter beraten ihn. Jeder versucht, ihn für den Beruf seiner Kaste zu gewinnen. Der Sohn schwankt. Zerrieben durch das beständige Hin-und-Her seiner Gefühle, mut- und hoffnungslos, erkennt er seine Unzulänglichkeit. Er hält sich für ein "Nichts, zerbrochen, ohne Sinn und Gedanken." Als er sich aber dieses Geständnis vor dem Vater abringt, antwortet dieser mit brutaler Beziehung auf seine Mutter: "Männer waren meine Väter, hinauf bis ins zehnte Glied! Weiber meine Mütter, geduldig, sicher und stark! Wer hat mir mein Blut verseucht? . . ." So heftig und abstoszend sind die Auftritte der Eltern, dass wir dem Sohne Glauben schenken, wenn er sagt: "Mir war ein Peitschenhieb der Name Vater und einer Hornisz Bisz der Name Mutter. . . . Warb der eine um mich, so warb er gegen den anderen." Im neunzehnten Jahre seines Lebens ein Greis, lebensunfähig und totmüde, "ein Nichts auf zwei Beinen," zu schwach im Guten wie im Bösen, geht der junge Mensch mit diesen Worten aus dem Leben: "O, wäre ich nie emporgetaucht an das Licht, das die Menschen beseligt! . . . Die, deren Kind ich bin, haben mein Werden nicht gewollt. Ein Stolpern bin ich ihrer Lust, mehr nicht. . . . Mein Leben war zwischen Fluch und Fluch. Was in mir des einen war, haszte der andere. So trete ich aus das giftige Unkraut, und den Frieden oder die Wahrheit vielleicht gebe ich Vater und Mutter." In diesen Worten liegt der Fluch des Kindes gegen die unhaltbare Ehe seiner eigenen Eltern und gleichzeitig gegen sein eigenes verfehltes Leben.<sup>2</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Weit tätiger und energischer als dieser junge Mensch ist Karl Moor in Schillers *Räuber* und der junge Schiller in Laubes *Karlschüler*, die beide gegen bürgerliche Selbstgenügsamkeit und fürstliche Despotie zu Felde ziehen.

<sup>2</sup> Schon *Das vierte Gebot*, Volksstück in vier Akten von Ludwig Anzengruber (1877), zeigt drei Elternpaare nebeneinander in den verschiedenen Beziehungen zu ihren Kindern. Zwei dieser Elternpaare treiben ihre Kinder in den Tod. Schalanter, ein Säufer, und

Den heftigsten Ausdruck der jugendlichen Revolution des jungen Menschen, seines Hasses gegen das Zeitalter der Maschine, gegen die kasuistische Ethik des Profitmenschen, die absolute Autorität des Vaters und jede Form der Unfreiheit und Hemmung finden wir in Hasenclevers *Der Sohn* (1914). Die Handlung ist kurz folgende:

Ein Sohn wird von seinem Vater miszhandelt und geknechtet. Peitschenhiebe bestärken das Verbot, ins Theater zu gehen, gewisse Bücher zu lesen und besondere Freunde zu besuchen. Vergeblich sucht der Sohn den Weg zum Herzen seines Vaters. Er bittet ihn, beschuldigt ihn, fleht ihn an; alles ohne Erfolg. Darauf folgt die endgültige Entfremdung. Ein Freund gründet einen Bund "zur Erhaltung der Freude und Propaganda des Lebens," zum Schutz der Jugend, zum Trotz und Kampf gegen die Väter. In diesem Klub hält der Sohn einen flammenden Aufruf gegen die Tyrannei der Familie, die mit Feuer und Schwefel auszurotten sei. Nach einem erotischen Erlebnis wird er von der Polizei verhaftet und gefesselt vor den Vater geführt. In einer letzten Szene voll trotziger, ungerechter Worte, erhebt der Sohn die Waffe gegen seinen Vater, der aber, noch bevor der Schuss fällt, vom Schlage gerührt tot zu Boden sinkt.

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Barbara, eine Kupplerin, erziehen ihre Kinder zu Eitelkeit, Leichtsinn und Müsziggang. Josepha endet als Dirne, Martin als Mörder. Kurz vor der Hinrichtung sagt Martin zu seinem Jugendfreunde: "... du hast's leicht ... du weisst nicht, dasz's für manche's grösste Unglück is, von ihren Eltern erzog'n z' werden. Wenn du in der Schul den Kindern lernst: 'Ehret Vater und Mutter,' so sag's auch von der Kanzel den Eltern, dasz s' danach sein sollen" (Akt 4, Szene 5).

Hedwig Hutterer gehorcht ihrem despotischen, heuchlerischen Vater und ihrer beschränkten, schwachen Mutter. Sie heiratet einen reichen Wüstling und verliert alles, Gesundheit, Hoffnung, Glauben und Leben.

Als Kontrast zu diesen unglücklichen Eltern und Kindern zeigt uns Anzengruber das Ehepaar Schön, einfache, gerade, ehrliche Menschen, die mit ihrem Sohne Eduard einem friedlichen Lebensabend entgegen gehen.

Eine ganze Reihe von Dramen der neunziger Jahre können als Klage und Kampf des jungen Menschen gegen seine Eltern aufgefasst werden: Helene in Hauptmanns *Vor Sonnenaufgang* (1889) verliert ihr Lebensglück durch die Trunksucht ihrer Eltern und geht freiwillig in den Tod. Hannele in *Hanneles Himmelfahrt* (1893) ist die lebende Anklage gegen ihre unglückliche Mutter und ihren verwahrlosten Stiefvater. Robert Heinecke und Leonore Mühleng in Sudermanns *Ehre* (1889) verlassen die Heimat, nachdem sie die Gesinnungslosigkeit ihrer Eltern vergeblich bekämpft haben. In Hauptmanns *Friedensfest* (1889) werden drei Kinder, eine Tochter und zwei Söhne, durch eine hässliche, entwürdigende Ehe zerrieben und gehen einer ungewissen Zukunft entgegen. *Mudder Mews* von Fritz Stavenhagen (1904) zeigt uns, wie eine rechthaberische, zanksüchtige Mutter die gute, haltbare Ehe ihres Sohnes zerstört und ihre Schwiegertochter zur Verzweiflung und in das Meer treibt. Sudermanns *Heimat* (1893) ist der Protest einer Tochter, die einen ihr vom Vater zudiktierten Pfarrer nicht heiraten will und deshalb von ihrem gestrengen Vater verstossen wird. Ernsteste Anklage und Verdammung des Vaters liegt auch in Ibsens *Gezeitenater* (1883).



Ehe der Sohn aus dem Hause des Vaters entflieht, erklärt der Freund ihm den Geist und das Ziel des Kampfes: Der Sohn solle bedenken, dass der Kampf gegen den Vater das wäre, was die Rache an den Fürsten vor hundert Jahren gewesen sei. Damals hätten gekrönte Häupter ihre Untertanen geschunden und geknechtet, ihr Geld gestohlen, ihren Geist in Kerker gesperrt. Heute singe die Jugend die Marseillaise. Noch könne jeder Vater ungestraft seinen Sohn hungern und schuften lassen und ihn hindern, große Werke zu vollenden. Es sei nur die alte Klage gegen Unrecht und Grausamkeit. Man poche auf die Privilegien des Staates und der Natur. Beide seien zu beseitigen. Man müsse predigen gegen das vierte Gebot. Und die Thesen gegen den Götzendienst müssten abermals an der Schlosskirche zu Wittenberg angenagelt werden. Die Jugend brauche eine Verfassung, einen Schutz gegen Prügel, die sie zur Ehrfurcht unter ihre Peiniger zwingen.

"Mein Vater," sagt der Sohn, "hat mich für seine Rechnung arbeiten lassen und mich ebenso betrogen, wie jeden Koofmich in Russisch-Polen . . . ich wäre tief unglücklich, könnte ich das böse Geld, das mein Vater zusammengemistet, nicht irgend einem gemeinsamen Gedanken unter Menschen zurückgeben. Es ist doch nur gerecht, wenn in Unfreude Erworbenes, an dem so viel Unglück klebt, wieder der Freude fruchtbar wird!"<sup>1</sup>

Die Kindesliebe verwandelt sich in Spott, Hohn und Hasz. Die Ehrlichkeit des Vaters wird verneint, seine Tätigkeit verdammt, das vierte Gebot gestrichen. Der Sohn fühlt sich als Märtyrer, als geknechtetes Genie, als Vorkämpfer humaner Ideen, als Reformator und Held. Wie einst die Anhänger Schellings stellt er sein gewaltiges Ego in das Zentrum des Weltalls, und im Sinne der lebensfrohesten der frühen Romantiker ruft er aus: "Genieszt den Duft der Rose ohne Dorn! Stellt Tische hin, an denen gespielt und nicht verloren wird!

<sup>1</sup> In Kaisers *Koralle* (1917) treten Sohn und Tochter ihrem unermesslich reichen Vater mit eben diesem Gedanken entgegen. Tiefgefühltes Mitleid für die Unterdrückten und Elenden ist der Grund ihres Protestes. Ebenso ist Tollers *Wandlung* (1918) das Bekenntnis eines jungen Revolutionärs, der aus tiefem Mitleid heraus seine Verbindung mit der bürgerlichen Gesellschaft löst, weil er in ihr das Prinzip satter Zufriedenheit mit dem zu Unrecht bestehenden verkörpert sieht. Gegen ererbtes Kapital spricht schon ein junger Eiferer in Gutzkows Drama *Die Schule der Reichen*: "Das Erbe schuf den Unterschied und falschen Rang der Menschen. Das Erbe gab uns Hasz, den Krieg. Das Erbe empört den freien Sinn. . . . Schon sollen Ungeborene auf dem breiten Teppich nicht selbst erworbener Güter sich lagern dürfen?" (Akt 4, Szene 9.)



Zieht Frauen auf, die uns alle lieben! Es lebe unser herrlich weltliches Gefühl!"<sup>1</sup>

Im Gebahren dieses Sohnes liegt die grosse Tragödie der Menschheit, die darin besteht, dasz jede Generation ihre eigenen Erfahrungen sammeln will und musz, dasz die Wahrheit von gestern heute das Ziel des Spottes wird, und dasz der Mensch unfähig scheint, die Güter seiner Vorfahren zu erwerben, um sie zu besitzen. Diese unbewusste tragische Schuld ist präzis und scharf in zwei weiteren Dramen ausgesprochen, die gleichfalls den jungen Menschen seinem Vater gegenüber stellen. In Werfels *Spiegelmensch* (1921) sagt der Sohn inbezug auf seinen Vater: "Das Erbe, dem du nicht entgehen kannst, ermord' es, um es zu besitzen.<sup>2</sup> . . . Ich bin kein Erbe. Ich bin selbst Beginn!" In *Herzog Heinrichs Heimkehr* von Hans Frank (1921) äussert der Sohn denselben Gedanken mit den Worten: "Ich bin meinem Leben Ursprung, Ende, Zweck und Ziel." Der junge Mensch fühlt sich als unabhängiges, alleinstehendes, souveränes Phänomen im Weltall, als Beginn und Ende aller Dinge.<sup>3</sup>

Je strenger der Vater, um so heftiger scheint die Reaktion des Sohnes. In Lauckners *Predigt in Litauen* (1919) stehen sich Vater und Sohn in tötlichem Hasse gegenüber, der Vater ein religiöser Fanatiker, ein Tyrann und blinder Vollstrecker des Buchstaben-glaubens, der Sohn ein weichliches Opfer lähmender Objektivität. Von der Kanzel herab verkündet der Vater, dasz Sektierer, Versucher, Irrlehrer und Apostaten durchs Land ziehen und seine Gemeinde zum Abfall aufreizen. Aber schon mancher Sohn, sagt er, sei reuig in die Arme seines verzeihenden Vaters zurückgekehrt; dies mit offensichtlicher Beziehung auf seinen Sohn, der nach diesen Worten schnell die Kirche verlässt. Der indirekte Anlass zur Katastrophe liegt in der Frage, ob einer zweiundsiebzighjährigen Selbstmörderin das ehrliche

<sup>1</sup> Viel gehaltvoller und begründeter erscheint Ferdinands Kampf in Schillers *Kabale und Liebe* (1784). Ferdinand kämpft gegen einen Vater, in dem sich Fürstenlaune, Despotie und Verderbtheit zu einem teuflischen Gemisch von Lastern vereinigt.

<sup>2</sup> Vergleiche Ferdinands Worte: "Feierlich entsag' ich hier einem Erbe, das mich nur an einen abscheulichen Vater erinnert" (*Kabale und Liebe*, Akt 1, Szene 7).

<sup>3</sup> Josef Ponten beschuldigt sich in einer autobiographischen Skizze, dasz er in seiner Jugend niemandem etwas habe danken wollen: "Denn ich erkenne es als meines Wesens innersten Kern, was ich tadelnd den Deutschen vorhalte: Alles aus sich selbst schaffen wollen! Niemand etwas danken! Nichts Gedachtes hinnehmen, sondern es selbst ausdenken. . . . Der Deutsche . . . glaubt in seinem faustischen Drange für sich jedesmal die Welt titanisch einreissen und prometheisch wieder aufrichten zu müssen (*Siebenquellen* [Berlin, 1926], S. 18 f.).

Begräbnis verwehrt werden soll. Der Sohn steht mit der ganzen Gemeinde auf der Seite der Alten, und als der Vater ihn der Lüge und des Betruges zeigt, erwidert er, der Vater, mit seinem Gottesdünkel, Gefühlsangel und Selbstbetrug, zwingt jeden, der in seine Nähe komme, zur Unehrlichkeit. Das Land sei öde; er habe mit seinem Gottesprügel einen nach dem anderen ins Elend gebracht oder tot geschlagen, und es sei kein Wunder, daß die armen Leute in ihrer Not sich an irgend etwas klammerten, an Schnaps, Irrlehren oder sonst was. In unsäglichem Hasz wendet sich der Vater gegen den Sohn, der sich mit der geladenen Pistole in der Hand zu verteidigen sucht. Da der Vater ihm dennoch näher kommt, richtet er die Waffe gegen sich selbst und erschieszt sich. Auch der Vater fällt durch eigene Hand.<sup>1</sup>

Bei all diesen Dramen, besonders denen, worin der junge Mensch seinen Vater als das leibhaftige Prinzip der Tyrannei und Despotie bekämpft, denkt man unwillkürlich an das oft genannte Beispiel des Sohn-Vater Konfliktes in der preussischen Geschichte, den erbitterten Kampf zwischen Friedrich dem Großen und seinem strengen Vater, dem Soldatenkönig. In der Tat ist diese Episode seit 1914 wieder und wieder im Drama behandelt worden,<sup>2</sup> zuletzt und mit meisterhafter Beherrschung von Stoff und Form von Joachim von der Goltz in *Vater und Sohn* (1922). Auch hier herrscht, wie in den anderen Dramen, tiefe Erbitterung und tiefer Hasz. Auch hier verteidigt sich ein Sohn, ein geborener Rebelle, gegen Autorität und Zwang. Der Vater erhebt den Degen gegen seinen Sohn, der Sohn denkt ernstlich an einen Mordanschlag auf seinen Vater. Aber ein starkes Element von Achtung durchdringt die Erbitterung der Kämpfenden. Beide fühlen und wissen, wie ernst und wahrhaftig der Gegner es meint. Wohl fallen in der äussersten Wut harte Worte, doch spricht in jedem der starre Gerechtigkeitssinn des Vaters und die Wahrheitsliebe des Sohnes. Katte, der edle Freund Friedrichs, fällt als Staatsverräter,

<sup>1</sup> Nach Lessing hatten eine Anzahl von Dramatikern die Tyrannei der religiösen Unduldsamkeit gezeigelt: Uriel Acosta in Gutzkows gleichnamigem Drama (1846), ein junger jüdischer Denker, erliegt in seinem Kampfe für die Freiheit des Bekenntnisses und des Glaubens. Ludwig Anzengruber vertritt in mehreren Dramen die liberale Haltung in religiösen Fragen, besonders im *Pfarrer von Kirchfeld* (1870). Auch Max Dreyers *Probekandidat* (1899) stellt, wie schon erwähnt, die Ergebnisse freier Forschung über orthodoxe Tradition und verliert dadurch Eltern, Braut und Heimat.

<sup>2</sup> Vergl. Emil Ludwig, *Friedrich, Kronprinz von Preussen* (1914); Hermann Burte, *Katte* (1914); Paul Ernst, *Preussengeist* (1917); Hermann von Bötticher, *Friedrich der Grosse* (1917).

und dennoch erscheint er uns ein unendlich reiner und edler Mensch. Die grausige Hinrichtung gewinnt Bedeutsamkeit und Tiefe durch die edle Haltung der beiden Freunde und das heldenhafte Opfer Kattes. Der tragische Ausgang wird vermieden. Trotz der Wirren der Ereignisse findet Friedrich den Weg zu seinem Vater. Er fühlt sich nicht als Beginn und Ende seiner selbst, sondern als wesentlicher und verantwortlicher Teil seines Geschlechtes: wesentlich durch die Erkenntnis seines eigenen Wertes, verantwortlich in dem Bewusstsein, das Erbe seiner Vorfahren würdig antreten und betreuen zu können. "Über die Steine dort," sagt er, indem er aus dem Fenster des Kerkers hinaus auf die Richtstätte seines Freundes deutet, "ging der Weg des Empörers. Mir fällt das Schwerere zu, ich will mich beugen und mich aussöhnen . . . ; ich werde leben, wider meinen allmächtigen Vater leben, durch ihn leben und auf sein Werk aufbauen, er mag es leiden oder nicht." Den anderen zu beugen, lassen Vater und Sohn kein Mittel unversucht, scheuen sie keine Härte und keine Bitternis; aber am Ende des Dramas hat jeder den schwersten aller Siege errungen, den über sich selbst. In der letzten bedeutungsvollen Szene sind Groll und Kampf vergessen. Mit tiefem Verstehen sehen sich Vater und Sohn in die Augen, und ihre junge Freundschaft gewährt uns einen Blick in die Zukunft, wo die Kräfte des Sohnes sich zum Wohle aller mit denen des Vaters vereinen werden, das Neue mit dem Alten, die Begeisterung und Blindheit der Jugend mit der Ruhe und Weisheit des Alters.<sup>1</sup>

Durchaus anders in der Auffassung der Grundmotive des Kampfes ist Unruhs Drama *Ein Geschlecht, ein zeitloses, mythisches Spiel* (1917). Unruh geht weit über das zeitlich Gegensätzliche der einzelnen Kämpfer hinaus. Für ihn löst sich der Kampf des jungen Menschen in dem ewigen Problem: Der Mensch von Generation zu Generation verworren und schuldbeladen. Urinstinkte erwachen, durchbrechen alle Bande der Scheu und zeigen den Menschen in seinen dunkelsten Trieben. Zuchtlos herrschen Blutschande und Verrat, Hasz und Mordanschlag auf das Leben der Mutter. Fluch und Verachtung des verstorbenen Vaters und seiner Generation. Aus diesem orgiastischen Rasen klingt die Selbstanklage der Mutter, die in dem wilden Ge-

<sup>1</sup> Indirekt gehört auch Gutzkows *Zopf und Schwert* (1844) zu den Dramen, die Friedrichs des Großen Kampf mit seinem Vater darstellen. Heinrich Laube hatte diesen Stoff schon in seinem *Prinz Friedrich* (1847) behandelt.

bahren der Kinder ihre eignen sündhaften Triebe vergangener Zeiten erkennt, aber durch Erkenntnis und Reue den Weg zur Wandlung und zu höheren Formen des Daseins findet. Die Mutter, das vielgestaltige Sinnbild des tiefsten Leides und des höchsten Glückes, findet erneute Hoffnung, während ihre Kinder, die zügellos Entarteten, ihren eignen Lastern zum Opfer fallen. Der Kampf der Jugend beruht hier auf der breiten Basis der Erbsünde. Nicht um die besondere Schuld eines besonderen Mitgliedes einer Generation handelt es sich, sondern um die ewige Frage der menschlichen Gebundenheit, um jenes ewige Ringen gegen die Macht der Triebe, nach Licht und innerer Freiheit, die nur der gereifte, durch das Leben geläuterte Mensch findet.<sup>1</sup>

Der Angriff des jungen Menschen richtet sich gegen die Härten des Lebens, die Grausamkeit des Erwerbskampfes, die Seelenlosigkeit der Zeit und die Mechanisierung des Daseins; gegen Elend und Not, Hunger und Vereinsamung, Misztrauen und Heuchelei; gegen schwache, unsichere Eltern und gegen solche, die in liebloser Ehe verharren und ihrem Kinde unfähig und verständnislos entgegen-treten; gegen die Laster des Vaters, seine Tyrannei und Strenge im Hause, seinen Mangel an Menschlichkeit im Getriebe der Welt; gegen die eigene vielfache Gebundenheit an die Sünden vergangener Geschlechter. Oder, um alle diese Angriffspunkte in logisch-kausale Beziehung zu bringen:

Der junge Mensch wendet sich gegen die gesellschaftliche Ordnung, die er veraltet und dem Zusammenbruch nahe glaubt. Diese Ordnung ist für ihn das Ergebnis einer unheilvollen Mischung von unermeslicher Geldgier und sinnloser Hast, unsagbarer Härte der Gefühle und völliger Unkenntnis der wirklichen Werte des Lebens.<sup>2</sup> Diese Mischung bildet den Zeitgeist, der vom Staate gebilligt und gestützt

<sup>1</sup> Das Inzest-Motiv wird auch von Arnolt Bronnen in *Vatermord* (1920), jedoch in äusserst abstoßender, widerlicher Weise behandelt. Der Kampf zwischen Sohn und Vater (um die Mutter) entartet hier zu einer völligen Sexualisierung jedes seelischen Geschehens, (vergl. Bab in Arnold, S. 804). Mit Schillers *Don Carlos* (1787), wohin die Gedanken unwillkürlich schweifen, hat Bronnens Stück nichts gemein. Auch Don Carlos liebt seine Mutter "... ohne Hoffnung—lasterhaft—mit Todesangst und mit Gefahr des Lebens—" (Akt 1, Auftritt 2), aber er ist mit seiner Mutter, Elisabeth von Valois, nicht blutsverwandt. In einem sehr schönen Werke, *Indipohdi* (1920) hat auch Gerhart Hauptmann das Inzest-Motiv in die Entfremdung zwischen Vater und Sohn hineinspielen lassen.

<sup>2</sup> In diesem Sinne sagt der Sohn in Werfels *Spiegelmann* zu seinem Vater: "... Ich hab in Kürze mehr erfahren, als du auf deinem Dach in dreissig Jahren."

wird.<sup>1</sup> Im Sinne dieses Geistes benutzt der Staat alle Regungen der Seele zum besten seines Bestehens und seiner Ausbreitung. Hunger, Not und Krieg sind die Folgen. Hiervon überzeugt, wendet sich der junge Mensch gegen alles Bestehende und besonders gegen die Grundfesten des Staates, die Familie. Der Begründer und Beherrscher der Familie aber ist der Vater.

Der Kampf des jungen Menschen im Drama erscheint jeweilig als der unvermeidliche Ausdruck einer mächtig vorwärts drängenden Bewegung, die je nach der Natur ihrer Motive und Ziele Inhalt und Form erhält. Schon a priori ist anzunehmen, dass der Protest der Jungen in allen jenen Zeiten zu finden sei, wo eine neue Generation mit energischen Forderungen an eine ältere herantritt. Das war der Fall im Sturm und Drang ebenso wie in der jungdeutschen Bewegung; im Naturalismus ebenso wie im Expressionismus. Alle diese Strömungen sind im gewissen Sinne Jugendbewegungen; sie werden mit jugendlicher Begeisterung ins Leben gerufen und meist von jungen Stürmern und Drängern geleitet.<sup>2</sup>

Der Sturm und Drang, eine heftige Reaktion gegen die nüchterne Aufklärung, verlangt Rückkehr zur Natur. Nicht der Verstand, das Herz soll sprechen. Zwang und Autorität sollen weder die Dichtung noch das Leben einhemmen. Genie und Originalität allein sollen entscheiden. Ein wütender Hasz gegen Bevormundung und Tyrannei beseelt den jungen Menschen. Karl Moor führt mit heisser Leidenschaft einen ungetümen Protest gegen Gesetz und Staat, gegen die Grundlagen der Gesellschaft und der Sittlichkeit. Ferdinand Walter kämpft gegen die ungeheure Korruption der höheren Stände, deren Ränken er mit seiner Geliebten dennoch erliegt.

Das junge Deutschland, eine Bewegung gegen die Romantik, war voll von revolutionären Ideen in politischer, sozialer und ethischer Beziehung. Gutzkow und Laube, die Führer der Gruppe und gleich-

<sup>1</sup> In *Masse Mensch* von Ernst Toller (1921) finden wir den Hasz gegen den Staat wie folgt ausgedrückt: "Wie kann ein Leib von Pest und Brand zerfressen leben? Sahst du den nackten Leib des Staates? Sahst du die Würmer daran fressen? Sahst du die Börsen, die sich mästen mit Menschenleibern? Du sahst sie nicht . . . Ich weisz du schwurst dem Staate Eid, tust deine Pflicht und dein Gewissen ist beruhigt."

<sup>2</sup> Die Zahlen hinter den Werken bezeichnen das Alter des Dichters zur Zeit der Veröffentlichung des Werkes: *Die Räuber*, 21; *Kabale und Liebe*, 23; *Zopf und Schwert*, 32; *Uriel Acosta*, 36; *Pfarrer von Kirchfeld*, 31; *Meineidbauer*, 32; *Vor Sonnenaufgang*, 27; *Friedensfest*, 28; *Hanneles Himmelfahrt*, 31; *Die Ehre*, 32; *Frühlings Erwachen*, 27; *Der Bettler*, 20; *Der Sohn*, 24; *Der junge Mensch*, 26; *Die Wandlung*, 26; *Ein Geschlecht*, 31; *Vater und Sohn*, 30; *Vatermord*, 25; *Spiegelmensch*, 30.

zeitig die stärksten Talente im Drama, schrieben eine Anzahl von tendenziösen Stücken, in denen junge Menschen gegen das Althergebrachte in den Kampf ziehen: In *Zopf und Schwert* schickt Prinz Friedrich seinen Freund, den Erbprinzen von Bayreuth, an den preussischen Hof, damit er die junge Prinzessin Wilhelmine vor dem Unglück einer politischen Ehe schütze. Uriel Acosta unterliegt in seinem mutigen Ringen mit religiöser Fanatik; der junge Schiller entflieht der strengen Obhut der Karlsschule; Prinz Friedrich wehrt sich vergebens gegen die eiserne Strenge seines Vaters.

Der Naturalismus erstrebt die Umwertung aller Werte und den Umsturz aller Dinge. Absolute Wahrheitstreue in Leben und Kunst und die Berücksichtigung brennender Tagesfragen gehören zu seinen Hauptforderungen. Eine Anzahl von peinlich genau beobachteten Ausschnitten aus dem Leben zeigen uns das tiefe Elend des Menschen und seine Abhängigkeit von Milieu und Vererbung, gegen die auch der junge Mensch vergeblich kämpft: Helene in *Vor Sonnenaufgang*; Wilhelm, Robert und Ida im *Friedensfest*; Hannele in *Hanneles Himmelfahrt*; Wilhelm und seine junge Frau in *Mudder Mews*; die Kinder in *Frühlings Erwachen*; Magda in *Heimat*; Hermann im *Probekandidat* und andere.

Der Expressionismus (seit etwa 1910) ist stärker in seinem Protest und seinem Wollen als alle anderen Drangperioden, denn der Druck von auszen ist grösser und gebietender. Natur und Leben sind so erdrückend, dasz der junge Mensch sich von beiden lossagt. So gewaltig sind die Schrecknisse des Krieges und ihre Folgen, dasz er sich eine völlig neue Welt erschaffen will. So wird der Expressionismus die Kunst des inneren Geschehens. Tat und Aktivismus werden die Schlagwörter. Aber der junge Mensch ist dem abgründigen Elend der Umgebung gegenüber hilflos und erschafft daher die neue Welt durch den Ausdruck (Expressionismus) seiner tiefsten Sehnsucht nach Besserung. Indem er nun diese Welt der Ideen unter der Herrschaft der Besten ins Leben ruft, geht er zunächst an die Bereitung der Baustelle und reiszt nieder, was er zum Untergang reif findet. Er gräbt tief bis in das Fundament des Staates, der Familie, um auch dort einen neuen Anfang zu ermöglichen.

Es wirft sich die Frage auf, warum gerade in Deutschland die Revolution des Jünglings und eben zu dieser Zeit so oft und leiden-



schaftlich behandelt worden ist.<sup>1</sup> Eine eingehende Antwort dürfte wegen des allzu bewegten Bildes der Zustände schwer zu geben sein und liegt auch ausserhalb des Rahmens dieser kurzen Darstellung. Was jedoch das Verständnis dieser Erscheinung wesentlich fördert, sind einige Faktoren, die sogar bei einem flüchtigen Blick auf das Werden der deutschen Zustände deutlich zu erkennen sind.

Die geologische Beschaffenheit des Landes lässt die Grenzen im Osten und Westen unbeschützt und offen für feindliche Angriffe daliegen. Die weitgehende Tragik dieses Umstandes wurde durch den dreissigjährigen Krieg vollauf bewiesen. Deutschland wurde der Tummelplatz fremder Heere; zwei Drittel seiner Bevölkerung, etwa 11 Millionen Menschen, gingen elend zugrunde. Daher die eiserne Notwendigkeit, die Zukunft durch die Einigung der vielen Teile zu sichern, die Grenzen durch ein stehendes, wohl geübtes Heer zu schützen, die Verwaltung in die Hände selbst- und pflichtbewusster Beamten zu legen. Daher die strenge Organisation aller Kräfte, Zucht, Disziplin und Gehorsam, das Aufgeben der Persönlichkeit zum Wohle des Staates,<sup>2</sup> die einfache eindeutige Ethik Kants. Daher auch das Abbild des Staates im Mikrokosmos der Familie, wo der Vater über die Seinen als Oberhaupt und Herr waltete wie der König über das Land. Aber je grösser der Druck von auszen, um so stärker der Wunsch des Einzelnen nach innerer Freiheit. So gewinnt der Deutsche jenen ausgeprägten Individualismus, den Oswald Spengler mit den folgenden Worten beschreibt: "Wir sind charakteristisch bis zur Tollheit, in den höheren Geistesschichten eine Sammlung von Originalen. Was für Denksysteme, was für Weltanschauungen, was für politische Ideen! . . . jeder glaubt anders, jeder will anders. . . ."<sup>3</sup> Zu diesem Charakterzug kommt im Anfang des Jahrhunderts die immer noch wachsende Übervölkerung des Landes und die daraus folgende Erhöhung der Anforderungen und die Erschwerung der Berufswahl besonders für die Söhne der höheren Stände.<sup>4</sup> Eine Ruhelosigkeit der Jugend macht sich überall bemerkbar und findet in der

<sup>1</sup> Zwanzig Dramen, die den Kampf des jungen Menschen behandeln und zwischen 1912 und 1924 entstanden, sind in dieser Arbeit erwähnt worden, womit Vollständigkeit nicht beabsichtigt ist.

<sup>2</sup> Vergl. Kleist, *Der Prinz von Homburg* (1821), und Hebbel, *Agnes Bernauer* (1852).

<sup>3</sup> Der Anspruch auf besonders ausgeprägten Individualismus ist allerdings von den meisten anderen europäischen Völkern erhoben worden.

<sup>4</sup> Die Häufigkeit der Schülerselbstmorde ist wohl hierauf zurückzuführen.



Jugendbewegung ihren beredtesten Ausdruck. Darauf folgt die grosse Katastrophe, äusserstes Elend, Ratlosigkeit und Verzweiflung.<sup>1</sup> Die Forderungen der Jugend werden lauter und energischer. Ein Suchen nach neuen Anfängen beginnt. Der Bruch mit jeder Tradition, mit Staat, Gesellschaft und Familie scheint die Grundbedingung für eine bessere Zukunft. Die alten Bande fallen, die Fesseln der Vergangenheit werden gesprengt, aus dem Nichts heraus will der junge Mensch sein Dasein wieder beginnen. Der offene und erbitterte Kampf gegen die Umwelt, gegen die Eltern oder gar den, der dem jungen Menschen als der Schöpfer und Verteidiger der veralteten Institutionen erscheint, den Vater, wird der erste Schritt im Plane der jugendlichen Revolution.

Könnte man zum besseren Verständnis der jugendlichen Revolution nicht auch sagen, dass Gegensätzlichkeit und Kampf zwischen Generation und Generation, zwischen Vater und Sohn, in gewissem Sinne ein psychobiologisches Gesetz sei,<sup>2</sup> und zwar besonders dort, wo ungelöste Probleme des Staates mit doppelter Gewalt auf die jüngere Generation fallen? Dass ein erbitterter Kampf unvermeidlich sei, wenn die Jüngeren in völliger Ratlosigkeit gänzlich neue Wege suchen, wie es alle diese junge Menschen bewusst oder unbewusst tun? So betrachtet wäre das expressionistische Jugenddrama der tragische Ausdruck der Verzweiflung über das Schicksal eines schwer geprüften Volkes.

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<sup>1</sup> Über die erschreckende Erhöhung der Sterblichkeitsziffer von 1913 bis lange nach Beendigung des Weltkrieges, über Unterernährung, Hungertod, usw., vergl. *Deutschlands Gesundheitsverhältnisse unter dem Einfluss des Weltkrieges* (herausgegeben von Dr. F. Bumm; Stuttgart, Berlin, Leipzig, 1928), I, 1-63.

<sup>2</sup> Das Gesetz von der Heterogonie der Zwecke, nach dem jeder erreichte Zweck wieder zum Ausgangspunkt für einen neuen Zweck wird, spricht wohl dafür. Vergleiche Nitzsches *Werke*, Leipzig, 1899, VII, 1, S. 369: Ein Gewordenes "wird immer wieder von einer ihm überlegenen Macht auf neue Absichten angelegt, neu in Beschlag genommen, zu einem neuen Nutzen umgebildet und umgerichtet."

## NOTES AND DOCUMENTS

### OLD FRENCH MUSGUE

The word *musgue*, 'musk,' is found in the glosses of Raschi, *Ber.*, § 43a.<sup>1</sup> The form is interesting as it seems to be the only case in French of a suffixless derivate of *MUSCUM* in the sense of 'musk' having a *g*. Suffixed forms of *MUSCUM* having a *g* are noted by Godefroy, *s.v. muglias*, as follows: *mugelias*,<sup>2</sup> *musqueliat* or *muglias*,<sup>3</sup> *mugliach*.<sup>4</sup> Two related words likewise show *g < c*. These are the words meaning 'lily of the valley' and 'nutmeg.' The former, modern French *muquet*, occurs in Old French as *muge*,<sup>5</sup> and in modern dialects as *meùghè*,<sup>6</sup> *mughi*,<sup>7</sup> *murguè*.<sup>8</sup>

The word for 'nutmeg,' modern French (*noix*) *muscade*, shows in Old French the following forms in *g*: *musgade*,<sup>9</sup> *mugaide* or *musgaide*,<sup>10</sup> *muguele*,<sup>11</sup> *mugeile*,<sup>12</sup> *musquette*,<sup>13</sup> *mugucte*,<sup>14</sup> and *migate* (*migatte*).<sup>15</sup> English *nutmeg* (ME

<sup>1</sup> See Darmesteter and Blondheim, *Les Gloses françaises dans les Commentaires talmudiques de Raschi* (Paris, 1929), §173a.

<sup>2</sup> Octavian (Picardy, 1240) ed. Vollmöller ("Altfrz. Bibl." [Heilbronn, 1883], Vol. III), l. 417. Vollmöller refers in a note to an example of *mulglas* on p. 274 of *La Parce de Folle Bobance* (fifteenth century?), ed. Viollot-Le Duc ("Anc. Théâtre français" [Paris, 1854], Vol. II). He cites also *Les Œuvres de Guillaume Coquillart* (Paris and Reims, 1847), in which the form *muglias* is found (I, 209).

<sup>3</sup> *Livre de Marc Pol*, éd. G. Pauthier (Paris, 1865), p. 366, chap. cxii.

<sup>4</sup> *Ezécut. testam. de Hues de Haluines* (Tournai, 1464).

<sup>5</sup> *Hastula regia* i. *muge de bois* i. *wuderoue* (Eng. *woodruff*), cited by J. Priebsch, *Bau- steine sur romanischen Philologie, Festgabe für Mussafia* (Halle, 1905), p. 556, from Wright-Wülcker, *Anglo-Saxon and Old English Vocabularies* (London, 1884), p. 558, l. 9, in a vocabulary of names of plants of the thirteenth century. Cf. the gloss *hoc affodillum* (for *affodillum*, Eng. *daffodil* < *asphodelus*): *musche* cited by Priebsch, *loc. cit.*, from Paul Meyer, *Glossaire latin-français de Glasgow*, reprinted from *Archives des Missions scientifiques et littéraires*, 2<sup>e</sup> sér., Tome IV, as *Documents MSS de l'Ancienne litt. de la France*, etc. (Paris: Imprimerie Nationale, 1871), p. 125.

<sup>6</sup> Haute-Saone, cited by Rolland, *Flore populaire* (Paris, 1906), VI, 251.

<sup>7</sup> Sarthe, cited by Rolland, *ibid.*

<sup>8</sup> Grandgagnage, *Dict. etym. de la Langue wallonne* (Bruxelles, 1850), *s.v. murguè*.

<sup>9</sup> *Roman de la Rose*, éd. Langlois (Paris, 1920), v. 1335 (*musgades:fades*); cf. Godefroy, *s.v. muguele*.

<sup>10</sup> *Ibid.*, variant of MS family L (fourteenth century).

<sup>11</sup> *Ibid.*, variant from MS Da. (late thirteenth or early fourteenth century).

<sup>12</sup> *Journal des Dépenses du Roi Jean en Angleterre* (1359) in Douet d'Arcq, *Comptes de l'Argenterie des rois de France* (Paris, 1851), p. 219, cited by Godefroy, *s.v. muguele*.

<sup>13</sup> *Inventaire des Ducs de Normandie* (1363), cited by Godefroy, *ibid.*, from Laborde, *Emaux*, I (inaccessible).

<sup>14</sup> *Inventaire de Charles-le-Téméraire* (1467), cited by Godefroy, *ibid.*, from Laborde, *Les Ducs de Bourgogne* (Paris, 1851), II, 96.

<sup>15</sup> *Registre municipal de Montbéliard* (1470), cited by Godefroy, *ibid.*

*notemugge*) likewise shows the *g* visible in these forms. According to the *Oxford Dictionary*, the word is a partial translation of Old French or Anglo-Saxon \**nois muge* or \**nois mugue*, "an unrecorded variant of Old French *nois muguete*."

It should be noted that *musgo*, 'musk,' occurs in a fifteenth-century manuscript of the Aragonese translation of the Psalms by Maestro Herman el Aleman (1240?-56).<sup>1</sup>

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THE HISTORY AND AUTHORSHIP OF  
MRS. CRACKENTHORPE'S  
FEMALE TATLER

*The Female Tatler*, by Mrs. Crackenthorpe, a Lady that knows every thing, the most vigorous rival of the *Tatler*, appeared for the first time on Friday, July 8, 1709.<sup>2</sup> Mrs. Crackenthorpe presented herself modestly as Mr. Bickerstaff's fellow-laborer in a co-operative enterprise, occupying with her periodical the "contrary days" not taken by the *Tatler*, Monday, Wednesday, and Friday. With humor, impudence, and dignity she maintained her *Female Tatler*, not as an imitator, but as the feminine counterpart of its masculine contemporary with the full equality demanded by a modern spouse.<sup>3</sup>

The omniscient Mrs. Crackenthorpe has never been identified. The article on Thomas Baker in the *Dictionary of National Biography* refers to the assignment of the periodical to him by W. T. Lowndes. H. R. Fox Bourne in his *English Newspapers*, perhaps on the basis of the general reputation of the author of the *Atalantis*, assumed that Mrs. Manley was Mrs. Crackenthorpe.<sup>4</sup> Dr. Nathan Drake, under the handicap of having seen only a few issues of the *Female Tatler*, attributed it to Thomas Baker, and reported that "its gross personalities obtained its author a sound cudgelling from an offended family

<sup>1</sup> Phelipe Scio de San Miguel, *La Biblia Vulgata latina traducida en español* (Madrid, 1808), VI, 444, n. 6: MS 8 (=I. j. 8 of the Escorial); cf. *Romania*, XXVIII (1899), 388-90, which translates by *musgo* (Ps. 44:9) the Hebrew *mor* rendered *almizque* in MS I. j. 3 and in the Ferrara Bible and certainly understood, following the Arabic version of Saadia (882-942), as *musk* (on the influence of Saadia in Spain cf. D.S. Blondheim, "Influences arabes dans les Versions bibliques judéo-romanes," *Les Parlers judéo-romans* [Paris, 1925], pp. 139-55). In normal Spanish *musgo* < *muscus* means only 'moss,' or 'moss-colored,' 'gray.'

<sup>2</sup> In *Tatler*, No. 229, describing the original periodical as leviathan carrying about him a whole world of inhabitants, Addison observed that among the attacks of the swarm of its dependents the *Tatler* had to endure being "scolded at by a *Female Tatler*, and slandered by another of the same Character under the Title of *Atalantis*."

<sup>3</sup> For representative examples of "pairing" the *Tatlers* see Nos. 2, 7, 29. She had to pay her respects also to the "ill-bred Criticks" who cast an irrational aspersion on the sex by refusing to believe that a woman was the author (see Nos. 11 and 47).

<sup>4</sup> H. R. Fox Bourne, *English Newspapers* (2 vols.; London, 1887), I, 74, 79.

in the city; and in the month of October, 1709, it was presented as a nuisance by the grand jury at Old Bailey."<sup>1</sup> Mr. George S. Marr reprinted Drake's account verbatim without quotation marks.<sup>2</sup> Professor Walter Graham showed independent knowledge of the *Female Tatler*, but he did not question the attribution to Thomas Baker.<sup>3</sup> The Crane-Kaye *Census of British Newspapers and Periodicals, 1620-1800* credited the *Female Tatler* to Thomas Baker.<sup>4</sup>

The very competent Mrs. Crackenthorpe, whatever her sex, wielded the tradition of Queen Anne periodical publication, in abusing her rivals, and in meeting unexpected misfortunes, with "feminine" wit and resourcefulness.<sup>5</sup> Being "disingenuously treated" by B. Bragge, the first printer of the *Female Tatler*, she removed it to A. Baldwin with No. 19, August 15, 1709. B. Bragge, in Mrs. Crackenthorpe's words, "*set up some pitiful Scoundrel . . . to impose upon the Town a sham Paper, upon another Person's Foundation, and talks of Ladies Drawing-Rooms, who was never yet admitted into tolerable Company: . . .*"<sup>6</sup> Although but two copies of the spurious *Female Tatler* have survived, Mrs. Crackenthorpe testifies to the existence of the paper by condescending to notice it in succeeding issues of the original *Female Tatler*.<sup>7</sup> Finally, in No. 35, September 26, 1709, she prints a letter full of lively satire from a person just arrived in London from Bath, announcing his discovery of the spurious *Female Tatler* by "the difference of its style and matter," and describing his meeting with the author of that periodical and his assistant.<sup>8</sup> In this first crisis of her career Mrs. Crackenthorpe's triumph was complete when she printed in the same number, in response to her correspondent's entreaty, a situation-wanted advertisement for her needy rival, "*so unfortunate to receive, but three half Crowns for Writing Seventeen Spurious Tatlers.*" The spurious *Female Tatler*, if this figure is correct, was extant from No. 19, August 17, 1709, to No. 35, September 26, 1709.

<sup>1</sup> Nathan Drake, *Essays, Biographical, Critical, and Historical Illustrative of the Rambler, Adventurer, and Idler, etc.* . . . (2 vols.; London, 1809), I, 4.

<sup>2</sup> George S. Marr, *The Periodical Essayists of the Eighteenth Century* (New York, 1924), pp. 30-31.

<sup>3</sup> Walter Graham, *The Beginnings of English Literary Periodicals* (New York, 1926), pp. 74 f.

<sup>4</sup> *Studies in Philology*, XXIV (1927), 39.

<sup>5</sup> In her political pamphlets of 1711 and her work on the *Examiner*, Mrs. Manley displayed complete familiarity with this anthropomorphic tradition of periodical rivalry. Her *Examiners* were incipient *Female Tatlers*. But she found her particular periodical rival at that time unsatisfactory. She complained in *Examiner*, No. 50: "This *Medler* is the perfect Reverse of Sir John Falstaffe; he is not only Dull himself, but he is also the Cause that Dulness is in other Men."

<sup>6</sup> *Female Tatler*, No. 20.

<sup>7</sup> See *ibid.*, Nos. 27 and 28; also *British Apollo*, II, No. 47. Number 19, "by B. Bragge," is preserved in the British Museum, and in the otherwise complete file of the original *Female Tatler* at Harvard; No. 31 is in the British Museum.

<sup>8</sup> One trait of the assistant's can be definitely connected with Thomas Baker—that of an interest in ballads; note the smatches of two ballads introduced in his *Tunbridge Walks* (1703), pp. 47, 56.

The new difficulties which Mrs. Crackenthorpe met successfully in turn were a cudgelling (probably not *in propria persona*), the operations of a black-mailer in her name, and a presentment of the *Female Tatler* by a grand jury. Since she was engaged in her musical scolding match with the learned gentlemen of the *British Apollo*—begun in *Female Tatler*, No. 21, with her scoffing at their project for printing "musical notes" and giving a "consort" for the benefit of their subscribers—her affairs received a great deal of attention in the rival periodical. The cudgelling of the supposed author of the *Female Tatler* by an outraged deputy<sup>1</sup> was celebrated in bad verses by half of the faithful subscribers to the *British Apollo*. They generally accept Thomas Baker as the *Female Tatler*, but sometimes entertain two possibilities:

You'll say She is some Mother *Mab* in Disguise,  
Train'd up from her Birth in Abuses and Lies;  
Or else you may think by her scurrilous Tongue,  
From *Billingsgate*, *Bridewell*, or *Newgate* She sprung;  
Admitting all this (as it seems pretty plain)  
Regard to her *Sex* might have warded the *Cane*.

But others will swear that this wise Undertaker,  
By Trade's an *At-ney*, by Name is a *B-r*,  
Who rambles about with a Female Disguise on,  
And lives upon Scandal, as Toads do on Poyson.<sup>2</sup>

Mrs. Crackenthorpe, surviving as a literary personage, at any rate, her supposed cudgelling as a real person, found a threat to her productive capacity, nourished by "intelligence" more or less legitimately procured, in a black-mailer who was extorting money from people to secure them from exposure in the *Female Tatler*. In No. 44, October 17, 1709, in a vigorous notice, reprinted in No. 45, she offered to undertake the prosecution of the blackmailer. On the day of the second appearance of this notice, October 19, 1709, the *British Apollo* carried an announcement in its news column of the presentment by the grand jury of the scandalous practices of the *Female Tatler*, the *Review of the British Nation*, and other papers unnamed, as "a great Nuisance."<sup>3</sup> On

<sup>1</sup> Mrs. Crackenthorpe had devoted No. 24, August 31, 1709, professedly to satire in general upon the vulgar pretensions of "city" people who were climbing up in the world, but, actually, to malicious caricature in particular of a certain deputy and the conduct of his daughters, "the two Mrs. Bustle's," at a "city" social affair. Her attack was so consummately effective as to leave no remedy open to the victim, unless he were a journalist of equal satirical powers, but the grossest physical assault. The deputy chose the cudgel.

<sup>2</sup> *British Apollo* II (September 14, 1709), 49. In many of the references (cf. II, 52, 55) to Baker's female disguise one is in doubt whether actual masquerading is meant, or merely assuming a journalistic pseudonym. The lampoons in the *British Apollo* and the tradition (recorded by David Erskine Baker) identifying Maiden, a character in Thomas Baker's *Tunbridge Walks*, as the author himself reflect his reputation with his contemporaries for enjoying just such pranks as assuming a female disguise and going abroad to seek "intelligence."

<sup>3</sup> In the next *British Apollo* a correspondent, implying that the blackmailer might have brought on the action of the grand jury, told a story of an alderman who had refused to advance four guineas to avoid being exposed in the *Female Tatler* (but cf. *Female Tatler*, No. 30).

October 26, 1709, the *British Apollo* danced in glee about its fallen rival, as though sure of its decease, rejoicing in its being paired with Defoe's *Review*, and comparing Baker's journalistic misfortune to his previous dramatic one in having his play hissed off the stage.<sup>1</sup>

Though no complete diagram of the personal and causal relationships connecting these incidents in Mrs. Crackenthorpe's journalistic history can be constructed, one may be inferred with some probability. Thomas Baker, as editor of the spurious rival paper, striving to maintain his precarious enterprise, and to establish its authenticity, would have been more likely than Mrs. Crackenthorpe herself to be indiscreet in proclaiming his authorship of the *Female Tatler*. That Thomas Baker had a large part in these roguish projects, and a rogue's reward for them, is a reasonable but unimportant assumption,<sup>2</sup> once it can be shown that he was not Mrs. Crackenthorpe as his contemporaries thought.<sup>3</sup>

For a time nothing affected the confident course of Mrs. Crackenthorpe's *Female Tatler*. She is complacent in her references to the Bustles, and in her renewed attacks upon them.<sup>4</sup> Her spurious rival succumbs to her hostility, or to other misfortunes, and she is able to celebrate the decease of the rival *Female Tatler* in No. 35, September 26. Even after the presentment of the grand jury on October 19 the *Female Tatler* appears for six numbers without any sign of a change of policy. But in the seventh, No. 51, November 2, 1709, she announces in a single sentence her withdrawal in favor of a society of modest ladies, because of an "Affront offer'd to her by some rude Citizens, altogether unacquainted with her Person." With No. 52 the page assumes its blank appearance, which it is to have henceforward, without the dominating portrait of Mrs. Crackenthorpe, the Latin inscription around the circular frame, *Sum canna vocalis*,<sup>5</sup> and the final touch of journalistic genius in the pseudonym embodying the spirit of the periodical, "By Mrs. Crackenthorpe,

<sup>1</sup> There are other references to the ill success of Baker's *Fine Ladies Aires*: for example, in II, 50 and 55. Whincop (*Scanderberg* [1747]) declared the play to have been a success. D'Urfey, in the Preface to *The Modern Prophets*, said that this play of Baker's was an "Abuse of the fair Sex . . . and deservedly hist."

<sup>2</sup> His persistent obscurity makes any certainty with regard to him or his ventures impossible. David Erskine Baker's defense of his namesake is, if anything, more partisan, and less convincing than Whincop's attack. The *Catalogue of the Hope Collection of the Bodleian Library* (Oxford, 1865) credits Thomas Baker with the unsuccessful continuation of the *Tatler* published by John Baker, in two issues, Nos. 272 and 273. Morpheus's continuation of the *Tatler* in its No. 276 denounces the A. Baldwin *Tatler* as a spurious continuation of the *Tatler* by the author of the late *Female Tatler*. Swift, writing for Harrison, replies humorously in No. 2 denying the allegation.

<sup>3</sup> D'Urfey and, possibly, Addison seem to have been exceptions. D'Urfey and his *Modern Prophets* were the butt of Mrs. Crackenthorpe's wit (Nos. 4, 8, 26, etc.). In his Preface D'Urfey recounts the vicissitudes of his play (acted May 3, 1709 [*Tatler*, No. 11]; withdrawn and apparently printed by July 19, 1709 [*ibid.*, No. 43]), and strikes out at two critics, the first one, Thomas Baker, who has shaken his dirt upon him in a prologue, and "the other is a profound Coffee-house Wit. . . ."

<sup>4</sup> See Nos. 26, 30, 39, 47, and 50.

<sup>5</sup> Number 3 gives her story of the origin of the motto and its significance.

a *Lady that knows every thing*." Number 52 is issued simply as "Written by a Society of Ladies."<sup>1</sup> But the new editors had actually taken charge as early as No. 51, for that paper introduces some of them for the first time.<sup>2</sup> Number 51, Mrs. Crackenthorpe's farewell number, was written for her by her successors and published in her absence with a lame explanation for her sudden resignation in a reference to the well-known incident of the cudgelling then two months past. Mrs. Crackenthorpe wrote no paper later than the preceding issue, No. 50, "From Friday October 29 to Monday October 31, 1709."

On October 29, 1709, according to Narcissus Luttrell, another writing lady was forced to abandon suddenly her wonted occupations: "The publishers and printers of a late book, called the New Atlantis, which characterizes several persons of quality, are taken up, as also Mrs. Manley, the supposed author."<sup>3</sup> On the first of November the printer and publisher were examined and discharged, but Mrs. Manley remained in custody.<sup>4</sup> On the fifth of November she was admitted to bail, but she did not get her discharge until February 14, 1709[-10].<sup>5</sup> The cessation of Mrs. Crackenthorpe's *Female Tatler* upon Mrs. Manley's arrest was more than a curious coincidence.

Mrs. Crackenthorpe's robust feminism is eminently like Mrs. Manley's, a feminism able to give and take intellectual blows in a man's world. Not overproud of its sex, it is envious of man's strength and education, even half-regretful that fortune had not made it masculine. Like Mrs. Manley, who had set the tone for her autobiography by having Sir Charles Lovemore declare that he had often heard her say, "*If she had been a Man, she had been without Fault*," Mrs. Crackenthorpe thinks in masculine terms to justify her acts. She selects a masculine analogy to explain her change of printers—"as a Gentleman that is Trickt does his Taylor or Perriwig-maker." This is a subtlety of verisimilitude, more likely to come from a woman, wistfully eager

<sup>1</sup> The sudden change in policy caught the ladies unprepared to supply a Latin motto. Though Mrs. Crackenthorpe had to suffer from the dilatoriness of her portrait-painter in the early days of the *Female Tatler*, she did not lack a motto from her first number. The new editors repaired their breach of decorum in the next issue with a motto, decorous on any occasion in a classical age—*Medium tenere Beati*—which served for three papers, until the motto-finding department of the new organization was ready to supply a change of mottoes with every issue, except for the re-employment of two which were favorites.

<sup>2</sup> Number 51 tells the story of the lovely Arabella, who competed with the sufferings of Hamlet and Ophelia on the stage for the sympathy of the audience, when she fell desperately ill at the theater: "The *Play* being done, and the Company parting, *Polydore*, *Lycidas* and *Castalio*, went to the House of *Clymene* and *Lucinda*, and there entertaining one another, made the Fair and Sick Arabella the Subject of their Discourse. . . ." The reader is thrust without warning into the social group and atmosphere which gives the background for the discussions of the later *Female Tatler*. *Lucinda*, in the next issue, is the first of the modest ladies, mentioned by Mrs. Crackenthorpe, to take her turn in writing the *Female Tatler*. Arabella is enough recovered from her illness to make the first of her three contributions with No. 54. She is claimed in No. 58 by Artesia, like *Lucinda* a regular editor, as her niece. The history of the later *Female Tatler*, continued until March 31, 1710, must be reserved for another occasion.

<sup>3</sup> *A Brief Historical Relation of State Affairs* . . . (6 vols., Oxford, 1857), VI, 505.

<sup>4</sup> *Ibid.*, VI, 506.

<sup>5</sup> *Ibid.*, VI, 508, 546.



for the greater privileges of a man's way of life, than from a man assuming a feminine masquerade.

Mrs. Manley shows herself beneath the masque of Mrs. Crakenhorpe in introducing material from the *New Atalantis*. She has a chance to welcome, in No. 7, an agreeable communication from a supposed undergraduate admirer, and, in No. 8, to print his letter, and the first instalment of his verse contribution, "CHARLOTTE: Or, the Guardian," an attempt from the *Memoirs of Atalantis in Homage to Her Female Empire*, by Burgersdicius of Oxford.<sup>1</sup> Mrs. Crackenthorpe's acknowledgment of his compliment, which is nothing more than mentioning her conventionally as his toast, unless she can share in his compliment to the author of the *Atalantis* in turning her prose fiction into verse, is pure Mrs. Manley in manner, thought, and shades of feeling:

Beauty was ever the least of my Aim, I would rather chuse to recommend my self by a tolerable Understanding; 'tis true, it heightens a Lady's Character, and when a fine Woman shall deliver her self in an Elegant manner, her Beauty, like sweetening a Note in Musick, is a grace to her Expression; and the Men are ravish'd with her, when they'd be but barely pleas'd with one less agreeable: But if Gentlemen would not value a Woman chiefly for her Person. . . .<sup>2</sup>

The elusive Mrs. Crackenthorpe is secured by her allusions to her own family.<sup>3</sup> Sometimes her references are extensive and somewhat literary, as in No. 43 on the Crackenthorpe's, or in No. 47 on her suitors. The Cavalier sentiments and sufferings of the Crackenthorpes, though suited to the Manleys, are too general to identify them. But her casual or facetious allusions, incapable of serving a journalistic or literary end, or of contributing anything but private amusement to Mrs. Crackenthorpe, or petty irritation to the persons satirized, are conclusive. Mary de la Rivière Manley had a sister Mary—Mary Elizabeth Brathewaite, as her name is given in their father's will. Mrs. Manley's state of mind with regard to this sister and her husband seems to have been fairly constant. In the second volume of the *New Atalantis*, October 1709, she says that she and her younger sister were left to the care of their cousin, "the eldest having much the Advantage of us in Age, was marry'd, and gone off with a Husband so ill-natured and disobliging, that our Family

<sup>1</sup> See *New Atalantis* (4 vols., 1736), I, 44–82, for the story of Charlotte and her guardian the Duke. There is another reference to the *New Atalantis* in *Female Tattle*, No. 45: "Lady Fancy-ful, who had the Vanity to think herself expos'd in the *Memoirs from the New Atalantis*, started the Question, What kind of Creatures are these Poets?"

<sup>2</sup> In No. 14 she reports that the second part of "Charlotte" is come to hand, and she prints it in No. 15.

<sup>3</sup> Personal allusions lurk on both sides of every folio sheet. Many of them can be interpreted by a reader who has a knowledge of Mrs. Manley's works. The identification, for example, of one of the editors of the *British Apollo*, described in *Female Tattle*, No. 30, as "Dr. Pusillanimous, who upon Second Thoughts is set up for a great Scruple-salver as well as Oculist," is supplied by Letter XI of *The Lady's Pacquet broke open*, published by B. Bragge in 1707 in two parts with translations from Mme d'Aulnoy (familiar to bibliographers hitherto only in its pirated form, *Court Intrigues* [1711]—see notice in *Examiner*, I, 46), which gives a brief criticism of Dr. William Coward's *Second Thoughts Concerning the Human Soul* (1702; 2d ed., 1704).

no longer conversed with theirs."<sup>1</sup> In 1714, in the *Adventures of Rivella*, she speaks of her older sister again: "*Maria* the eldest, was unhappily bestow'd in Marriage, (at her own Request, by her Father's fondness and assent to his Daughter's Choice) on a Wretch every way unworthy of Her. . . ."<sup>2</sup> Two passages from the *Female Tatler* need little more than quotation. She does not write her paper for profit, Mrs. Crackenthorpe remarks in the first issue with brave irony, "for all that I have the Honour to be intimate with, know that I have an Estate of 300 *l. per An.* and always keep two Maids and a Footman; but if I should happen to succeed beyond my Expectation, it might so far advance my Fortune, that I may be able to keep a Coach as well as my Sister *Mickelthwait*." The satire of a facetious advertisement in No. 20 is directed to her esteemed brother-in-law:

Mrs. Crackenthorpe wants a strong Yorkshire Fellow that has none of his Country Tricks, and able to go thro' all manner of Business, to live with her Brother, Copperthwaite in the Country; he must be Coachman, Groom, Butler, Gardiner, Valet de Chambre, go to Plow, and play Country Dances upon the Fiddle. If any such Fellow is willing to serve for Three Pounds Ten a Year, and a Course Grey Livery, he may walk down to *Pains-taking Hall*, Seventeen Miles beyond *West-Chester*, and live there till he has work'd out an Estate in the Family.

Unlike Mrs. Manley and her sister, two sisters with but one name, Mrs. Manley and Mrs. Crackenthorpe were two personalities but one person. Mrs. Manley was Mrs. Crackenthorpe.

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#### SOME CHANGES CONTEMPLATED BY VOLTAIRE IN HIS *QUESTIONS SUR LES MIRACLES*

In the library of Voltaire at Leningrad which Professor Havens and Professor Torrey have described in *Modern Philology* (XXVII [1929], 1-22) and in the *Fortnightly Review* (CXXVI [1929], 397-405) there are a number of first and early editions of Voltaire's own works. Like most of the other volumes in the library they contain marginal notes, for Voltaire apparently read his own work as critically as that of others. The 1748 Dresden edition of his collected writings contains many carefully prepared additions and corrections which have been incorporated into later editions and form the final text accepted by Moland. There is also at Leningrad, however, an edition of the *Questions sur les Miracles* with notes and changes by Voltaire which have never been used in later editions. It is the first edition of the collected *Questions* (Neufchâtel, 1765, in-8., 232 pp. [see Bengesco]). The care with which the first letter has been corrected seems to indicate that Voltaire intended

<sup>1</sup> *New Atalantis* (4 vols., 1736), II, 187.

<sup>2</sup> *Adventures of Rivella* (1714), pp. 15-16; see also pp. 24 and 37.

these notes to be used in subsequent editions. The fact that the changes are made only in the *Première Lettre* probably explains why the modifications never appeared in print. We may suppose that Voltaire intended to go through the other letters making similar changes, and that not having completed the work he did not communicate it to his publishers. However, the corrections of the *Première Lettre* are complete and should be noted by future editors of Voltaire. The chief purpose of the revision seems to have been to suppress the letter form and to change the *Questions sur les Miracles* into a *traité*. Some of the changes are in the direction of greater boldness of style; many are mere variations in wording. In other passages Voltaire multiplies examples to make his points stronger. The printer had used the old spelling, and we can picture Voltaire meticulously, and with some irritation perhaps, changing every *oit* to *ait*. On the flyleaf of the Leningrad copy are the following words in Voltaire's handwriting: "Ce livre n'est qu'une plaisanterie à laquelle deux ou trois gens de lettres se sont amusez. V."

Some of the added notes bear out this statement more than do the original letters and add to the frivolous air which already characterized the original. For example, when the original quotes the Scriptures as saying that God the Father said to the People, "Celui-ci est mon fils bien aimé en qui je suis com-plu, écoutez-le," the notes add as an aside: "Dieu le père parlait en hébreu, mais tous les romains, tous les étrangers durent se faire expliquer ces paroles" (p. 7). Elsewhere the added notes considerably amplify the thought. Thus (p. 17) Voltaire has been saying that the simple words of Jesus should not be compared to the discourses of great philosophers, but that for the public to which they were addressed they pointed their moral in the most fitting way. The marginal notes add: "Ils disent qu'on ne doit jamais faire parler Dieu ridiculement; et nous disons que ce qui est ridicule pour les gens d'esprit et la bonne compagnie ne l'est pas pour les paysans de la Galilée, que Jésus Dieu n'a parlé qu'à ces paysans, et non à la bonne compagnie de l'asie, non au sénat de Rome, non à la cour des Empereurs." In this case all the honors do not go to the *gens d'esprit*, for Voltaire undoubtedly believed, though with some condescension, in the value of a simple religion for simple people. The miracles of Jesus are only to be taken as moral lessons like the parables, and not as literal occurrences. "Il faut prendre le glaive par la poignée, et non par le trenchant," he adds in the manuscript note. On page 20 he added to an already long list of abuses of the Christian religion the Irish massacres, twelve million (!) men killed in America to convert them, and the Inquisition.

In his revision Voltaire developed more logically than in the original the possibility of a transmission of the power to do miracles. In the original he merely says that if Jesus had power to perform miracles it would have been communicated to the apostles and thence to the disciples. In the notes he adds: "Ces disciples purent la transmettre [cette puissance] à leurs initiés, ces initiés purent faire passer ce pouvoir jusqu'à nous."

Many other minor changes might be noted; for example, one which emphasizes Voltaire's concluding thought that possibly some day we may learn even to love each other. The revised text adds: "voilà le grand miracle nécessaire." Each change in the revision seems to point a moral just a little more definitely than the original or to make the style a little more forceful. One more example might be quoted to illustrate this procedure:

ORIGINAL: "La religion chrétienne au contraire a rendu les hommes plus méchants."

REVISION: "La religion Chrétienne au contraire a rendu les hommes *cent fois* plus méchants."

Although the variations do not show any radical difference of thought or style from the first form of the text, they are made with care and precision and undoubtedly would have formed part of a corrected edition had Voltaire continued the same work for the other *Questions sur les Miracles*.

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## REVIEWS

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*Catalogue of Irish Manuscripts in the British Museum.* By STANDISH H. O'GRADY and ROBIN FLOWER. Vol. I: pp. xi+706; Vol. II: pp. xxxvi+634. London: Printed for the Trustees, 1926.

People frequently ask what became of Irish literature after the great ecclesiastical and heroic outpourings of the Middle Ages had ceased. The answer is in these two volumes. It has continued without a break down to the present. The political misfortunes of Ireland restricted its circulation very largely to manuscript until the eighteenth century, when the dawning interest in Celtic literature received a sharp stimulus from the controversy over Macpherson's *Ossian*. As this interest grew, there emerged from obscurity a large and important body of vernacular literature which had been hitherto almost entirely neglected. The last three generations of scholarship have demonstrated beyond question the usefulness of Irish documents in the study of the complicated interplay of national literary forces which underlies the formation of the Western European literary tradition. The Irish material of the earlier periods, therefore, has become fairly well known; the manuscripts since 1500, on the other hand, have received scant attention. And yet the material from the early sixteenth century on is no less imposing in bulk and hardly less interesting in quality.

The *Catalogue* treats about two hundred manuscripts, of which about a third were catalogued by O'Grady and the rest by Flower. They cover every department of literary activity—lyric poetry, prose narrative, exegesis, correspondence, and especially history, law, and medicine.

The manuscripts listed in the first volume contain very little early heroic literature, but they introduce us to a body of writings that has been practically omitted from literary history—that produced by the guild of hereditary poets who were praised by Spenser for their wit and technique and who continued long after Spenser's day as a powerful force in molding Irish taste and political opinion. By means of copious extracts (accompanied by translations) the first volume gives us what amounts almost to an anthology of later Irish poetry. Many of the poems are topical and are accompanied by extensive and valuable notes taken from O'Grady's rich store of historical information, much of which is not published elsewhere.

The second volume is done in the newer tradition of manuscript cataloguing. Not only is each manuscript minutely described but each item is taken up and carefully examined. Notice is given of its occurrence in other manuscripts and, in many instances, of its sources and analogues in other literatures

and of the printed editions in which it may be read. In carrying out this task the compiler has encountered and solved scores of literary problems. All the argumentative apparatus, the qualifying and self-protecting reservations of monograph literature have had to be thrown overboard in the interests of compactness, and yet one reads these briefly stated conclusions with a feeling of confidence. The treatment of the heroic tales in the description of Egerton 1782 is a distinct contribution to the history of Irish heroic literature, and yet it does not exceed the province of the cataloguer. Flower's study of the manuscripts reveals a close community of intellectual tradition between Ireland and the rest of Europe during the Middle Ages. Among some of the more noteworthy examples is a very early version of Statius' *Thebaid*, perhaps as early as the *Roman de Thebes* (see Eg. 1781, art. 21), an important Irish version of the chronicle of pseudo-Turpin (Eg. 1781, art. 3), and an Irish translation from a version of the *Fierabras* otherwise unknown (Eg. 1781, art. 2). Other notable examples of this community of tradition may be seen in the treatment of Add. 4873, articles 3 and 4, and Eg. 91, article 13. The number of translations and redactions listed shows that the Irish have been most assiduous collectors and emphasizes more than ever the importance of this material for the study of the growth of English and continental literature.

The third and last volume, which is to contain indexes, notes, etc., is now being prepared by Robin Flower.

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*Malory.* By EUGÈNE VINAVER. Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1929. Pp. 199.

Two-thirds of this interesting book (114 pp.) are devoted to a connected account of Sir Thomas Malory's life and the background and composition of *Le Morte Darthur*.<sup>1</sup> The remaining third (pp. 114-99), by all odds the most valuable part of the work, contains materials for Malory's biography, a scientific discussion of his sources, and a detailed Bibliography. Students of literary history will find this last third of first-rate importance.

"Thomas Maleore, knyght" informs his readers that he completed his book the "IX yere of the reyne of Kyng Edward the fourth," i.e., in 1469-70. In March, 1894, Professor Kittredge identified him with Sir Thomas Malory, a Warwickshire gentleman of Newbold Revel. On July 11, 1896, T. W. Williams, in the London *Athenæum*, suggested this identification. Through an inadvertence, Vinaver (p. 116) places Williams' name before Kittredge's, but he is justly cautious in stating that this identification while "highly probable—cannot be proved." Happily, also, he utilizes, for the first time, Burton's pedigree for the Draughton Malorys, pointing out that the only mistake in

<sup>1</sup> The spelling of which Professor Vinaver ascribes to "some ignorant clerk—the only intermediary between Malory and Caxton," and not to the assumption that the author did not know how to write French.

this pedigree is that Nicolas Malory, who died in 1513, was Sir Thomas' son and not his grandson. For the documents relating to Nuneaton and Malory's trial, Vinaver refers us to Hicks's recent biography (on which see now *Mod. Phil.*, XXVI [1929], 372-73), and he wisely assigns to "some yet undiscovered reason" Malory's references to Wales and Welsh knights occurring in Books VIII-XII.

In dealing with the sources, Vinaver is again sound. He emphasizes the utility of Sommer's collation with the Huth *Merlin* and the alliterative *Morte Arthure* "because there can be no doubt that these works represent Malory's source." But in other respects Sommer's studies appear to be of little value. While Vinaver reviews the problem of sources in detail, his own contribution centers chiefly on the middle portion of the *MA*, the origin of Books VIII-XVII. This section of his study falls into two parts: (1) the *Tristan* Books (VIII-XII) and (2) the *Grail Queste* (XIII-XVII). Here he first establishes Malory's debt to MS B.N. fr. 334, and he then elaborates his hypothesis<sup>1</sup> that Malory used a "condensed redaction" of the prose *Tristan* embodying successively material from MSS B.N. fr. 103, 334, and 99. This work, he thinks, formed a part of what Malory terms his *Frensshe boke*, which itself "was in all probability a single French MS divided into three or four volumes." Ingenious as this theory is, Vinaver himself is at some pains to answer Brugger's objections to it (see *ZFSL*, LI [1928],<sup>2</sup> 131-69), and he fails even to mention L. E. Winfrey's cogent restrictions on it published in *Mod. Phil.*, XXVI (1928), 231-33. On the other hand, he doubtless is correct in the assertion that for the Grail Malory no longer employed a *Tristan* compilation but a manuscript of the *Queste* proper.<sup>3</sup> In fact, on page 147 reasons are given for believing that here Malory's source was close to MS B.N. fr. 120, though it would have been useful to note that this famous manuscript once belonged to the Duc de Berry, who bought it in 1405 from the Parisian bookseller, Reynauld du Montet, who, in turn, is known to have sold romances (among them a *Tristan*) in England.<sup>4</sup> As for the influence of the English *Le Morte Arthur*, concerning which the late J. D. Bruce and Sommer were at odds, Vinaver is inclined to reconcile their disparate views by positing (p. 151) the existence of a lost French source to which both Malory and the English author were indebted. Be that as it may, Malory's version of the "Passing of Arthur" has striking agreements with the account in *Lazamon* and an episode in the Irish *Táin bó Fráich*,<sup>5</sup> so that one may readily believe that Malory, whose

<sup>1</sup> See his *Roman de Tristan et Iseut dans l'œuvre de Thomas Malory* (Paris, 1925).

<sup>2</sup> Vinaver, p. 140, has the wrong reference. <sup>3</sup> Another part of the *Frensshe boke*.

<sup>4</sup> These facts I hope to elaborate in our forthcoming edition of the *Perlesvaus*. Meantime, see Jules Guiffrey, *Inventaires de Jean, Duc de Berry* (Paris, 1894), I, cxlv ff., and A. de Champeaux and P. Gauchery, *Les travaux d'art exécutés pour Jean de France, Duc de Berry* (Paris, 1894), pp. 126 ff.

<sup>5</sup> The parallel is treated independently of one another by T. P. Cross (*Manly Anniversary Studies*, pp. 284-92) and the late Gertrude Schoepperle (*Vassar Medieval Studies*, pp. 1-25). These references should be added to Vinaver's Bibliography.



*Frensshe boke* need not have been an inclusive term, had other than merely French sources.

It is regrettable that the remainder of Vinaver's treatise does not measure up to the standard of the sections on Malory. Notably weak is chapter ii on the genesis of Arthurian romance. As for the prose romances (Vinaver's particular domain), the *Perlesvaus* is simply ignored, although its initial episode figures prominently in MS B.N. fr. 120. Nor is there any account of the "reduced" pseudo-Map cycle which goes under the name of Robert de Borron (with two *r*'s) and which incorporates the *Tristan*. Page 15: Geoffrey's *liber* is put down as "a fraud." That is a hypothesis, tenable to be sure; but Geoffrey's *liber* cannot be disposed of by a mere sweep of the pen<sup>1</sup> or by condemning it along with such other definite references as Kiot and Breri. Page 17: Geoffrey, not Wace, was the first to "note" that knighthood had to be "proved by chivalry" in order "to win the favour of ladies." Page 17: Only in the *Charrete*, a romance that he did not complete, does Chrétien advocate the Provençal *amour courtois*; in his other romances<sup>2</sup> he clings to the ideal of love-in-marriage. Page 19: While Conon de Béthune uses the well-known conceit of *cuers et cors*, it was known to Chrétien, to Thomas (*Tristan*), and to others (see Schittenhelm, *Zur stilistischen Anwendung des Wortes CUER* [Halle, 1907], and Wechssler, *Kulturproblem des Minnesangs*, I, 227). Page 23: Robert de Boron's actual "work"<sup>3</sup> is found in one manuscript, not in "a few MSS"; strictly speaking, his *Merlin* fragment has 502, not 504, verses. Page 26: The word *sen* is properly spelled *sens* (< *sensus*) (cf. MS T of the *Charrete*). On the other hand, these imperfections are offset by a good analysis of Malory's "prosaic and practical" temper (chap. iv) and a just appraisal of his conception of chivalry (chap. v). It is certainly true that "by adopting the Arthurian romances to the needs of his day [the period from 1454 to 1485], he [Malory] made them into a record of the national past of England." Finally, there is an illuminating chapter (viii) on Malory's style. Here Malory appears as distinctly superior to his models, and his interpreter ably sets forth "the varying harmonies" that made of Malory an exemplar not only of written but also of spoken English prose. The Clarendon Press is to be congratulated on the distinguished format of the book and the excellent reproductions of medieval miniatures with which it is adorned.

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<sup>1</sup> Even Faral (*Légende Arthurienne*, II, 297) is disposed to identify it with the *Annales Cambriae*.

<sup>2</sup> If anyone allege the *Tristan* (lost), let him remember that the poet refers to it as *Del roi Marc et d'Ieue la blonde*.

<sup>3</sup> On the improbability that he wrote a *Perceval*, see the compelling article of Pauphilet, *Mélanges Lot*, pp. 603-18. On the other hand, compare now E. Brugger, "Der sog. Didot-Perceval," *Zeit. f. franz. Spr. u. Lit.*, LIII (1930), 389-459.

*Essays on the Vita Nuova.* By J. E. SHAW. "Elliott Monographs in the Romance Languages and Literatures," No. 25. Princeton: Princeton University Press; Paris: Les Presses Universitaires, 1929. Pp. 236.

Seven essays: the last dealing with "The Character of the *Vita Nuova*," the others each with a special problem—"The Date of the *Vita Nuova*," "*Incipit Vita Nova*," "*Ego tanquam centrum circuli*," "*E che dirà ne lo inferno*," "*Morràti, morràti*," "*Non è del presente proposito*."

The treatments of these special problems lead to conclusions of general significance; and the last essay, which is in the best sense an essay in literary criticism, rests on the specific findings of a judicious scholarship.

The most notable characteristics of Professor Shaw's method seem to me to be an extraordinary thoroughness and courtesy in the treatment of earlier discussions—a thoroughness and courtesy especially hard to achieve in this particular field—a willingness to persevere in the making and establishment of fine discriminations, and a peculiar sensitiveness to exact verbal connotation.

In his attitude toward the Dantesque material I welcome particularly his steady and absolutely right insistence that one cannot properly read into the *Vita Nuova* the systematic ideas developed in the later works; and his similar ability to confront and interpret the lyrics as being earlier and more forthright than their attendant prose. Personally, I am inclined to press the latter differentiation even more than he does, with reference to the poems of the *Convivio* as well as those of the *Vita Nuova*.

The second essay establishes firmly the thesis that New Life in the sense of "life renewed by love" is the first and only important meaning of *Vita Nuova* as the name of the book. To Professor Shaw's already adequate demolition of the idea that Dante could have meant, by his title, "The Life of Youth" as contrasted with later life may be added the consideration that since Dante was only twenty-five years old or thereabouts when he wrote the little book he was much too young to distinguish and emphasize his youth!

In the fifth essay Professor Shaw demonstrates inexpugnably, it seems to me, that whereas in the *canzone Donna pietosa* the cry *morràti* meant "thy lady will die," Dante in his own prose interpreted it as meaning "thou wilt die." This discrepancy, which can hardly have been less than deliberate, illustrates in a most striking way the general differentiation between the mood of the verse and that of the prose, and reinforces my own conviction that the prose (in the *Convivio* as well as in the *Vita Nuova*) is far less reliable for biographical purposes than the verse.

In reinforcement of Professor Shaw's recognition of Dante's growing belief that he was himself the recipient of special divine favor and special consequent responsibility, it may be pointed out that many of the "nines" of which

Dante makes so much in the prose really apply just as truly to Dante himself as to Beatrice.

The interpretative clarity and significance of Professor Shaw's work may be instanced by this fine passage from the sixth essay:

His unavailing efforts to regain her favour and the progress of his incessant turbulent reflections brought him at last to realize that, as he had dimly suspected from the first, she was no mere earthly woman, but that, on the contrary, she was a messenger from heaven, a representative of God on earth. From that time there had begun to dawn upon him the dazzling truth that she was the means of grace especially to him Dante, and that he had thus been singled out among men and favoured by God above all other mortals. Worldly thoughts of her became incongruous, thought of an amorous correspondence between them, even of the most ideal kind, appeared futile, and the love he bore her appeared clearly in its true light as a love for the goodness which she transmitted to him. She was his peculiar saviour, and to love her and praise her was more than enough joy, a more than sufficiently worthy occupation for him who was her earthly ward. No sooner was he at peace with himself in this new amazing knowledge, happy beyond the expression of words in the goodness of his love, when she returned to heaven. She departed because her mission on earth was fulfilled: she had performed for this one man a task analogous in part to that performed by Christ for all men, for she had led him to the knowledge and love of the highest good.

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*La Réforme allemande et la Littérature française: Recherches sur la notoriété de Luther en France.* Par W. G. MOORE. "Publications de la Faculté des Lettres de l'Université de Strasbourg," Fascicule 52. Strasbourg: A l'Université, 1930. Pp. 512.

In the *Lutheran Quarterly* for April, 1918, Miss Lucy H. Humphrey published, under the title "French Estimates of Luther," the first systematic study of the German reformer's fame in France. Now Dr. W. G. Moore, who describes himself as the "Zaharoff scholar in the University of Oxford," has won the doctorate at Strasbourg by a large work on the same subject. Though he has collected a much fuller material than did Miss Humphrey, he has missed a few allusions which she was able to find. Dr. Moore would also have profited by a Cornell thesis, which he could not have known as it has just been accepted and not yet published, by Dr. Dorothy Reed Burnett, entitled *French Students in the German Universities in the Fifteenth and Sixteenth Centuries*. On page 204 Dr. Moore speaks of the importance of academic interchange, but is unable to give precise details as to numbers and purposes of the foreign students. Miss Burnett has collected the names of 652 French students at German universities during the Reformation period (1518-1600), and has uncovered many valuable indications of their activity both in Germany and in France.

After an introductory appraisal of Luther's literary work, which is rated very high indeed, Dr. Moore continues with an account of the first reception of his books in France by the humanists and learned men who could read them in Latin. While he offers much of interest in this connection, he has failed to notice one of the most important testimonies to early French humanistic opinion, that of Budé, in a letter of June 9, 1521, published by Kalfoff in his *Aleander gegen Luther* (1908), page 152. The great French scholar wrote to Aleander that the first act of Luther's drama had been wonderful and wise, but that its catastrophe (at Worms) was dire and repulsive.

While our author sketches the condemnation of Luther's works by the University of Paris, he might have made the account more illuminating by using the material in Gess's *Akten und Briefe zur Kirchenpolitik Herzog Georgs von Sachsen*, and the letter of Cittadini to Étienne Poncher, published in the *Bulletin de la Société de l'Histoire du Protestantisme française* (1917), page 35 ff. And in speaking of the early introduction of Lutheran works at Avignon, would it not have been interesting to have mentioned the recently discovered fact that Luther himself passed through Nice, through Pernes near Avignon, and up the Rhone Valley on his way back from Rome to Wittenberg in January, 1511?

Very interesting are the writer's investigations of the first Frenchmen at Wittenberg, though he fails to identify the French mathematician spoken of by Melancthon on April 13, 1520 (*Corpus reformatorum*, I, 153), and though he fails to trace the career of Dumolin as fully as Miss Burnett has done. He has, however, collected an extraordinary number of allusions to Luther in the early years of the French Reformation, of echoes of his phrases, and of translations of his pamphlets. As many of these were anonymous and without name of place or printer, some nice problems are set for the literary detective. Some of these problems our author solves by the aid of typographical indications, or of stylistic peculiarities; some of them are doubtless insoluble. One important Lutheran work, published in Latin, under the name of Hermann Badius, Dr. Moore attributes to Martin Bucer. An early French translation published under the pseudonym "Docteur du Cleremont" puzzles him. But is not "Cleremont" the French equivalent of "Wittenberg," then thought to mean "White Mountain," and translated by the humanists into Greek as "Leucorea"? One of the merits of Dr. Moore's work lies in his long quotations, comparisons, and samples. Even though these do not make lively reading, they furnish the student with portions of texts that are often rare and inaccessible.

It would be interesting to know whether the *Traicté composé par ung grant Astrologue d'allemaigne*, predicting a deluge in the year 1523 (pp. 219 f.), was related to the numerous Italian and German works on the same subject, one of which gave Erasmus some hints for his colloquy entitled "Exorcism."<sup>1</sup>

<sup>1</sup> On this see G. Hellmann, *Aus der Blüthezeit der Astrometeorologie* (1914), and my *Key to the Colloquies of Erasmus* (1927), p. 28.

Another of the polemic pamphlets to be translated was the *De deux Monstres prodigieux*, which Dr. Moore thinks was turned into French by Crespin. Later it was Englished from the French, and perhaps gave Shakespeare the hint for his "mooncalf."

To the student of literary sources the best part of the volume under review will doubtless be its careful study of those great writers, Marot, Margaret of Navarre, Rabelais, and Calvin. Something in the thought, but little in the language of Marot, can be traced to Lutheran sources. Margaret, on the contrary, shows not only a general acceptance of the doctrine of justification by faith, but a specific acquaintance with the reformer's works. This is particularly evident in a poem on the *Paternoster*, published from the manuscript by Dr. Moore. While he has been able to add not a little to the exposition of her religious thought, he has missed the most important of all the evidences of direct communication, not knowing a letter of Luther to Margaret, recently published in the last volume of the Reformer's *Briefwechsel* (ed. Enders, XVIII, 54).

A cautious and yet penetrating study of Rabelais makes it distinctly probable, though not certain, that he read some of Luther's works. That Rabelais really possessed some of the works of the German reformers, notwithstanding their prohibition in France, is proved by Dr. Ingram Bywater's lucky find of a copy of Melancthon's *De anima*, with a characteristic Greek inscription and Rabelais's name in autograph. But on the whole the French humorist was an Erasmian, as he acknowledged himself, and as has been proved in so much detail by Thuasne.

In my judgment Dr. Moore, who is usually inclined to make the most of all traces of Lutheran influence in France, underestimates the debt of Calvin to his German precursor. The admitted fact that Calvin's mind was essentially Latin, the failure to find much direct quotation from or allusion to Luther, cannot obliterate the impression that a close student of his work and of Luther's must obtain, that the whole thought of the younger man was dependent on that of the elder. Particularly from the *Babylonian Captivity*, from the *Bondage of the Will*, and from the *Catechisms* the Genevan drew the very essence of his theology. Even when he refers to Augustine or to some other Father, he often read him, I am convinced, through the medium of Luther's previous citation.

In pointing out a few omissions in Dr. Moore's learned book, I do not mean to refuse it the high praise it deserves as a painstaking and informing treatise. His is one of the works that will always be consulted by specialists in sixteenth-century literature, and which will perform for students of French much the same service that Herford has performed for students of German influence in England.

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*La Religion de Victor Hugo.* Par DENIS SAURAT. Paris: Hachette, 1929. Pp. ix+212.

M. D. Saurat a décidément l'heureux don de renouveler les sujets. Après des livres sur Milton et sur Blake qui ont fait quelque bruit, voici qu'il nous présente une interprétation originale de la philosophie hugolienne. Car Hugo est bien un philosophe; Renouvier, philosophe lui-même, ne s'y était pas trompé; mais M. Saurat, versé dans l'occultisme et la cabale, nous apporte les plus curieuses précisions sur les sources et le vrai caractère de cette philosophie.

Les critiques ont longtemps voulu voir chez Hugo un immense et monstrueux orgueil; orgueil, si l'on veut, mais humilité aussi. Hugo, nous montre M. Saurat, s'est considéré vers 1853-54 comme le fondateur d'une religion nouvelle; il a cru que Dieu s'était emparé de lui, comme il s'était emparé de Sainte-Thérèse par exemple; que lui, Hugo, n'était rien, qu'un fragment de Dieu, conscient de sa divinité. Sa métaphysique, si abstruse qu'elle a déconcerté tous les lecteurs de *Dieu, La Fin de Satan*, et même de certaines *Contemplations*, vient en droite ligne de l'occultisme (on sait combien Hugo a cru aux tables tournantes) et de la cabale juive. Cette cabale a été communiquée à Hugo par un curieux personnage, dont M. Berret avait déjà signalé l'influence, Alexandre Weill, juif alsacien venu à Paris en 1836, qui devint vite l'ami intime du poète. Hugo, que le problème du mal avait longtemps tourmenté, adopta alors une philosophie ésotérique que M. Saurat reconstitue subtilement: tout est Dieu; Dieu, en voulant créer le monde, c'est-à-dire séparer de lui-même une partie de lui, l'a nécessairement créé imparfait. C'est la matière, le mal; mais à cette matière, il a accordé la liberté, c'est-à-dire quelque bien (la liberté, dans *La Fin de Satan*, est en effet la fille de Satan, du mal); c'est par elle que ce mal sera transformé en bien.

Les hypothèses, on pourrait dire les découvertes de M. Saurat, éclairent d'un jour nouveau toute l'œuvre de Hugo écrite pendant et après l'exil. Elles sont le commentaire désormais indispensable de *William Shakespeare, Religion et religions*, et surtout de *Ce que dit la bouche d'ombre*, que l'interprétation de M. Saurat explique enfin de façon satisfaisante. Souhaitons que l'auteur continue à exploiter ses découvertes. Il bondit, avec une élégante légèreté, parmi tant d'idées abstruses, que l'on aimerait l'arrêter et l'assaillir de questions. On se demande par exemple comment cette conviction acquise par Hugo qu'il était le nouveau Messie se conciliait chez lui avec sa vie sexuelle, si prodigieusement active. Une note (p. 178) nous indique bien qu'Alexandre Weill, par une théorie commode, expliquait que Dieu pardonne plus facilement leurs péchés aux grands hommes. Mais il vaudrait la peine, à la lumière de ces idées étranges du poète, d'étudier toute son attitude à l'égard de la femme et du péché charnel.

L'argumentation de l'auteur est solide, et son style, brusque et bien frappé, entraîne la conviction. On souhaiterait parfois qu'il fût un peu plus timide, qu'il nuancât par quelques "peut-être" ou "probablement" certaines



affirmations. On craint aussi que M. Saurat ne finisse par courir quelque risque en se faisant l'homme d'un seul livre, la *Cabale*. Ces spéculations sur l'origine divine du mal, sur l'âme et la matière, etc., ne sont pas sans rappeler le néo-platonisme alexandrin—les gnostiques des premiers siècles de notre ère, et même un hardi docteur chrétien tel qu'Origène. Hugo n'avait sans doute pas lu Origène et Valentin. Mais au moment même où s'élaborent ses théories métaphysiques, il fréquentait à Jersey un homme que l'on s'étonne de ne pas voir cité par M. Saurat: Pierre Leroux avait, lui aussi, réfléchi à tous ces problèmes; esprit inquiet, mystique, souvent génial, P. Leroux n'est pas un philosophe négligeable; on aimerait à connaître plus nettement son influence sur Hugo.

Quoi qu'il en soit, on s'étonne une fois de plus, en lisant un pareil livre, du préjugé courant qui veut faire des Français un peuple uniquement rationnel et raisonnable. Des sectes d'illuminés du XVIII<sup>e</sup> siècle à Ballanche, P. Leroux et Jean Reynaud, de Nerval et Balzac à Hugo, Villiers de l'Isle Adam et Rimbaud, est-il une littérature plus ardemment pénétrée de mysticisme que la littérature française? Est-il rien d'ailleurs de plus obstinément illogique, avec ses enthousiasmes passagers, ses révolutions, et ses chutes incessantes de ministères, que l'histoire de ce peuple soi-disant cartésien? Certains préjugés ont la vie si dure, que l'on est reconnaissant à M. Saurat de sa belle ouverture d'esprit—et même de quelques paradoxes.

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*Le Moyen Age dans l'œuvre d'Anatole France.* Par ALVIDA AHLSTROM. Thèse pour le Doctorat d'Université présentée à la Faculté des Lettres de l'Université de Strasbourg. Paris: Les Belles Lettres, 1930. Pp. 222.

Mlle Alvida Ahlstrom a lu d'un bout à l'autre l'œuvre d'Anatole France, dépouillé les élucubrations des familiers et des commentateurs du Maître, et recueilli d'innombrables fiches: longues citations substantielles ou vagues allusions, elle a noté tout ce qui, de près ou de loin, touchait à son sujet, et nous ne saurions que la louer de ce souci cartésien "de faire partout des dénombrements si entiers et des revues si générales."

Elle s'est même appliquée, avec beaucoup d'étude et de soins, à organiser ces membres épars, et son plan ne manque point à première vue de méthode. Entre l'introduction et la conclusion de rigueur se succèdent cinq chapitres sur "La société médiévale vue par Anatole France," "Anatole France et l'art médiéval," "La littérature médiévale dans l'œuvre d'Anatole France," "Anatole France et la religion du Moyen Age," "Jeanne d'Arc et son époque dans l'œuvre d'Anatole France"; et la table des matières suffirait à montrer que l'auteur s'est proposé de diviser logiquement chacune de ces questions "en autant de parcelles qu'il se pourrait et qu'il serait requis pour les mieux résoudre." Malheureusement, cette logique reste toute extérieure, cette belle



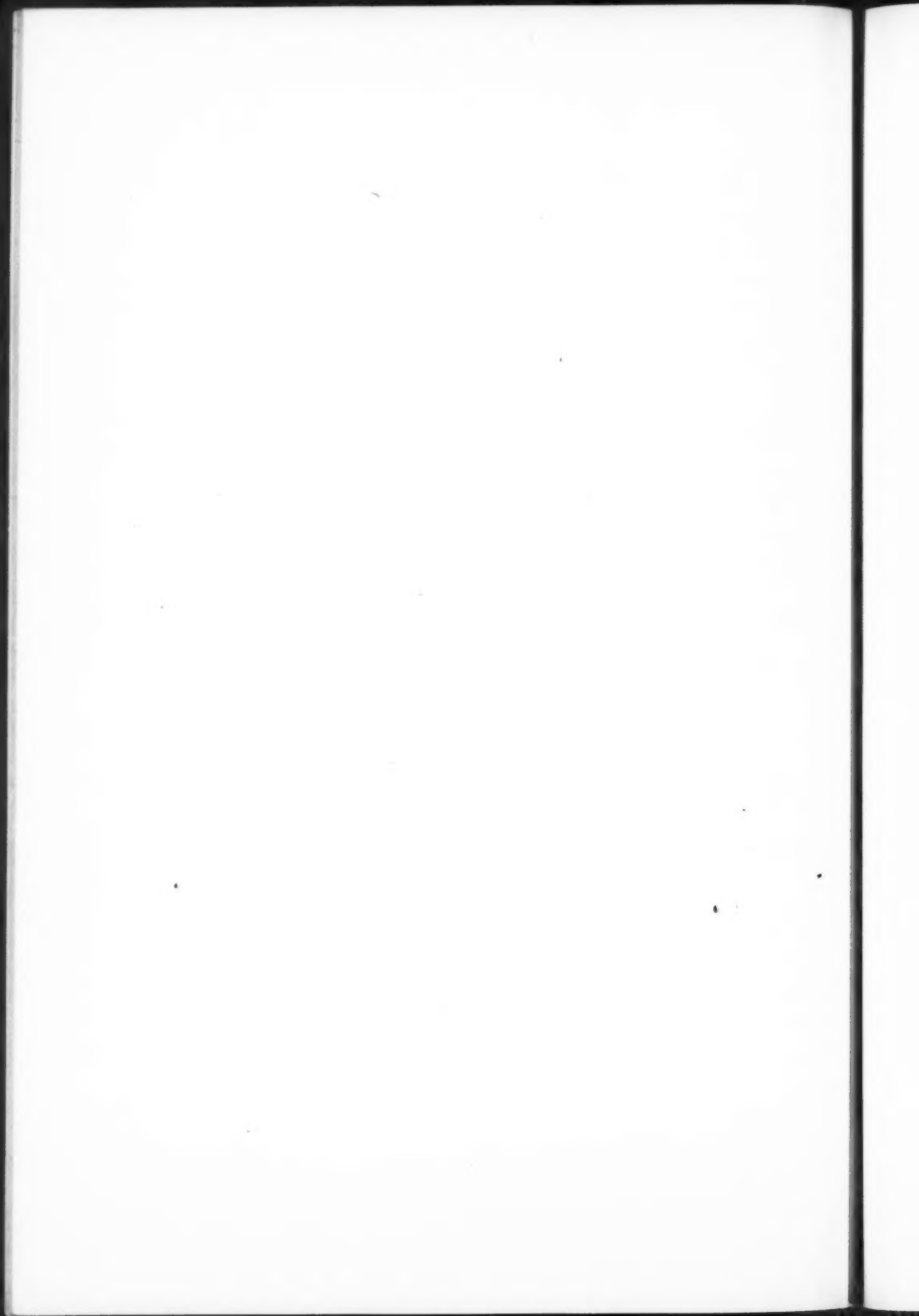
ordonnance n'est qu'un trompe-l'œil. Un système si bien organisé a-t-il jamais existé dans l'esprit d'Anatole France? Il est permis d'en douter, car pour le constituer Mlle Ahlstrom a dû rapprocher arbitrairement et recoudre à grand peine des fragments empruntés à toutes les phases de l'œuvre indistinctement, sans le moindre souci de la chronologie, comme si les opinions et les connaissances du plus curieux et du plus ondoyant des hommes étaient restées, d'un bout à l'autre de son existence, immuables et figées. Un arrangement purement statique, admissible lorsqu'il s'agit de dégager les idées d'un ouvrage homogène considéré isolément, est inacceptable dans le cas d'une série d'œuvres échelonnées le long de toute une vie: il devient alors indispensable d'introduire dans le plan, ne fût-ce qu'à titre d'hypothèse, la notion de temps et l'idée d'évolution. Il aurait fallu par exemple, en tenant minutieusement compte des dates, dégager la genèse et suivre la courbe de l'intérêt porté par Anatole France à tel ou tel aspect du Moyen Âge: chercher si telle idée, telle réflexion n'avait pas été provoquée, chez cet esprit si prompt à refléter l'actualité, par un courant contemporain, une conversation familière, une lecture toute fraîche; déterminer à quelle occasion, selon quelle loi, les thèmes étaient repris, se transformaient, disparaissaient. Nous aurions ainsi vu les différentes pièces du système—si système il y a—se former, s'agencer et jouer sous nos yeux.

Peut-être, il est vrai, les documents nous manquent-ils encore pour suivre ainsi pas à pas la vie intellectuelle d'Anatole France; sans doute aussi le sujet ainsi traité aurait-il dépassé les proportions d'une thèse pour le Doctorat d'Université. Mais en ce cas n'aurait-il pas mieux valu pour Mlle Ahlstrom, si elle tenait malgré tout à son sujet, renoncer au discours suivi, et nous présenter franchement ses citations sous la forme d'un répertoire systématique muni d'un index analytique détaillé? Un tel recueil aurait été un commode instrument de travail pour les commentateurs, et un point de départ, le cas échéant, pour des études plus poussées. Par la même occasion, non seulement le plan que nous critiquons serait devenu parfaitement acceptable, mais l'auteur aurait évité un défaut commun à tant de "dissertations" qui ne sont que des catalogues déguisés: le nombre et la longueur des citations qu'elle introduit à force dans son texte enlèvent au développement toute unité et tout mouvement, et il est bien peu de pages qui se lisent sans effort et laissent une idée nette dans l'esprit du lecteur. Cette impression de confusion est d'ailleurs accrue par la précaution que prend trop souvent Mlle Ahlstrom de se retrancher derrière l'autorité d'un critique, même pour les observations les plus évidentes et les plus banales.

En définitive, tout en rendant hommage à la conscience apportée par l'auteur à sa documentation, nous devons regretter que sa bonne volonté n'ait pas été détournée d'une méthode qui ne pouvait conduire à aucune conclusion significative.

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## BRIEFER MENTION

*Studies in Honor of Hermann Collitz* (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins Press, 1930. Pp. xii+331) really deserves something more than briefer mention. A beautifully printed volume of distinguished appearance, it contains thirty articles on a variety of subjects. It is only natural that in a book dedicated to an eminent linguist articles of a linguistic nature should predominate. Nineteen of these studies therefore deal with problems of a purely linguistic nature; many of these are sufficiently stimulating so that they will undoubtedly evoke comment in the proper publications. Of the remaining eleven articles three concern themselves with Scandinavian questions: Samuel H. Cross, "Scandinavian-Polish Relations in the Late Tenth Century"; Chester Nathan Gould, "Blótnaut," an interesting evaluation of the evidence concerning cattle-worship among the ancient Scandinavians; and Hugo Pipping, "Hávamál 136," a new commentary on a long-disputed stanza. Two articles deal with folklore: Archer Taylor, "Der Richter und der Teufel," concerning the versions of the tale of Chaucer's Friar, and Adolph B. Benson, "Swedish Witchcraft and the Mathers," a valuable commentary upon Swedish influence on two New England writers in 1692. The remaining six articles are in the fields of literary history and criticism. Julius Goebel contributes some comments and additions to Friedrich Vogt's edition of *Minnesangs Frühling* (3d ed., 1920). "A View of Lessing," by W. G. Howard, discusses many angles of the character of the great classicist. A. W. Porterfield comments on questions of style in the same author. "Wielands Briefwechsel mit Johannes Gottfried Gurlitt," by W. Kurrelmeyer, throws a new light on Gurlitt's translations of Pindaric odes published in Wieland's *Merkur*. Ernst Feise's article on "Rhythm and Melody as Parodistic Means in Heine's *Unterwelt*" is a highly ingenious exposition of difficult stylistic matters in one of Heine's most artistic products. The volume is an entirely fitting tribute to one of our most distinguished Germanists and reflects credit upon the skill and good judgment of its editors.—GUSTAVE OTTO ARLT.

Germany is publishing a series of valuable handbooks on foreign civilizations. They are written by groups of well-known German specialists and consist essentially of an attempt to appraise foreign countries from an objective and thoroughly scientific point of view. The motto of the series might be "Tout comprendre c'est tout pardonner"—in itself quite an achievement. The *Handbuch der Frankreichkunde* (Frankfurt a./M., 1930; 2 vols.), is in part a second edition. It has been favorably noticed in *Romania*, LVI (1930), 159, and to the approval there expressed as to the treatment of Old French litera-

ture we may add our commendation of the chapters on the French language (by the eminent syntactician Lerch), on French music (by Loser), on French politics (by Preller), and on French philosophy (by Müller-Freienfels). While the orientation, the *point de repère*, of this work is Germany and thus compels us to wear German spectacles (cf. the lack of American and English titles in the bibliographies), it is all in all an extremely valuable contribution to humanistic scholarship.—W. A. N.

*The Origin of the Icelandic Family Sagas* (Oslo, 1930), by Professor Knut Liestøl, attempts to clarify our notions concerning the origin, the growth, and particularly the historicity of the Iceland saga. The study is the logical sequence of the author's earlier volume, *Norske Etnesogor* (Oslo, 1922), in which he analyzes a series of Norwegian family sagas the historicity of which can be checked by means of documentary evidence from government archives. Except for their higher literary merit, the Iceland sagas resemble the Norwegian greatly; and the conditions under which both types arose have much in common. Liestøl applies the findings of his earlier study and of other studies in popular tradition to his investigation of the Iceland saga, to which the absence of documentary check makes the comparative method the only approach. After an analysis of the conditions under which the sagas arose, the development from oral to written tradition, the nature and extent of variants, external influences and possible literary borrowings, he reaches the conclusion that in essentials the tradition of the saga is dependable. The saga shows literary "heightening": psychologizing of characters, motivation of actions, the addition of dialogue, inclusion of legends and superstitions; yet the author considered his work history. Liestøl's attitude toward the saga is summed up in the dictum: "Unless there be definite reason for believing a report unauthentic, there is reason for regarding it as authentic." —HENNING LARSEN.

The publication in one volume of nineteen complete metrical romances and considerable selections from eight others is of interest to the scholar as well as to the teacher, since many of these narratives have been available hitherto only in editions long out of print. In preparing the volume (*Middle English Metrical Romances*, New York: Prentice-Hall, Inc., 1930) the editors, Professors W. H. French and C. B. Hale, have shown admirable judgment. In a concise Introduction they give a sketch of Middle English social conditions and of elementary grammar. For each romance they provide a brief headnote explaining the constitution of their text and special features of its language or literary relationship, and at the bottom of each page glosses for unusual words and concise notes on social-historical or literary points. Finally, a Vocabulary of forty pages lists words commonly found in the romances. In preparing their texts they have used the most authoritative editions and, in most cases, photographs of the manuscript sources. This use of manuscripts adds to the

scholarly interest of the work, for in some cases we have had no assurance as to actual readings of the sources since a single publication many years ago. Evidently the Introduction was not so carefully proofread as the texts; misprints occur frequently there but not later in the book. The following corrections should be made: page 11, W. W. Lawrence's; under "V.A." on the same page for "midland" read "northern"; page 13, H. C. Wyld's, E. M. Wright; page 15, in the line quoted under 2 (b) strike out "to."—J. R. H.

Number 19 of Professor Hoops's "Englische Textbibliothek" is *Sire Degarre nach der gesamten Überlieferung und mit Untersuchung über die Sprache und den Romanzenstoff* (Heidelberg, 1929). A critical edition of this curious poem has been long in coming, and we are fortunate, after so great a delay, to have it prepared by as competent an editor as Gustav Schleich. The text is based on the Auchinleck manuscript with variant readings from the other manuscripts and printed texts. The Introduction contains a study of the textual tradition, a treatment of the language and meter, and a discussion of parallels and analogues. The last division furnishes a full list of parallels to the general plot and to individual motifs, a body of material that should be especially helpful as a basis for further study. The editor himself makes no consistent attempt to work out the specific debt of the author to the various documents named, but contents himself with the conclusion: "Diese Zusammenstellung möge genügen, um zu zeigen, dass unsere Dichtung nur solche Motive—oder Anklänge daran—enthält, die auch sonst der mittelalterlichen Phantasie vorgeschwebt haben" (p. 54). A more detailed examination of this strangely confused and inconsistent poem should yield valuable information about the methods of medieval narrative writers. For example, the author's stultification of his hero in having him go up and down the land in search of a wife, using as a marriage test a pair of gloves that he has been told will fit no one but his mother, looks like a certain indication of an awkward combining of divergent plots. The conventional ascription (p. 54) to a French source (with some such title as *Lai d'Esgare*) again brings up the puzzling question of how a writer who could translate the poem from the French should be so ignorant of the French language as to attach the preposition to the substantive adjective and make a personal name of it. The fact that the same thing happens in the case of *Sir Libeaus Disconus*, which is known to be based on a French source, makes the problem no simpler.—CLARK H. SLOVER.

Just as the compilation of Alfonso's *General estoria* was the most stupendous literary undertaking of the Spanish Middle Ages, so the editing of this monumental work has long seemed the greatest task with which Hispanic philology has had to cope. Mr. Solalinde's eagerly awaited first volume gives us only a fraction of the whole (*General estoria, primera parte*. Edited by A. G. Solalinde. Madrid, 1930). It comprises, apart from Introduction and

variants, 768 densely printed quarto pages, two columns to a page. Four more volumes, equal in bulk, are necessary to complete the whole, which in turn are to be followed by two volumes devoted to linguistic and source studies. It is to be hoped that this plan may be carried out as promised, though the editor will doubtless be forced to call in the aid of others and to organize a *scriptorium* equal in size to Alfonso's own. Scholars should be grateful for the aid granted this project by the Guggenheim Foundation and Messrs. Cebrián, Huntington, and Fabián. May their interest extend to the printing of the later volumes.

The part now before us contains that portion of Jewish history related in the Pentateuch, curiously interwoven with the history and mythology of other ancient peoples, after the manner of Petrus Comestor, compiler of the *Historia scholastica*. Petrus, next to the Bible, was Alfonso's chief source, but nearly every available ancient author was drawn from for the matter of this curious literary mosaic. This first volume will give the historian a new insight into the workings of the medieval mind, and the philologist will gain a mine of material for the study of thirteenth-century Castilian.

Mr. Solalinde modestly disclaims the making of a critical text. Obviously in dealing with a work of such bulk as this, perpetuated by nine manuscripts, he cannot be expected to use that refinement of method employed in the establishment of shorter texts. He follows MS A, not an original, but the oldest and best, copied in Alfonso's *cámara regia*. When this version is guilty of errors and omissions, the other manuscripts are used to correct and supplement it. The most important variants of these are given in an Appendix, and their interrelationship meticulously studied. M. Bédier will be pleased to note that in this case the stemma shows three distinct lines of descent, not the usual two.

The Introduction contains also a general account of the work studied, a brief study of the sources, and a discussion of the correct title. The title given by Alfonso to his history varies throughout the work and in the different manuscripts. That finally adopted by Mr. Solalinde differs from the one commonly used, but as it is the title of most frequent occurrence in the text itself, it should be welcomed for this reason and for its brevity.

Mr. Solalinde is to be congratulated on this splendid exhibition of long-continued industry and patience, virtues which in his case are not incompatible with brilliance.—G. T. N.

Dr. Alice Cameron's dissertation, *The Influence of Ariosto's Epic and Lyric Poetry on Ronsard and His Group*, appears from the Johns Hopkins Press (1930). Dr. Cameron studies the influence of Ariosto on the Pléiade (excluding Dorat), Tahureau, and Magny, taking each poet separately and adding summarizing conclusions. Ronsard, both absolutely and proportionally to the total mass of his work, leads in borrowings from the Italian; Du Bellay and Baif come close together behind him; Magny follows, being influenced by

Du Bellay during their stay in Rome; the rest trail. The only one to imitate Ariosto's metric is the experimentalist Baif; the satires furnish material only to Du Bellay and Magny, the former of whom makes more use than do the rest of the *Opere minori*. The conclusion offered about Du Bellay may be extended to the group as a whole: they borrow from Ariosto more than they are influenced by him. His work is most frequently reflected in publications from 1550 to 1560, but continues perceptible to the close of the century; the erotic verse has naturally the greatest vogue.

The work on the dissertation has been considerable, and it throws much valuable light on a subject more slenderly treated by Vianey's contribution to *Bull. ital.*, Volume I (1901). The technique is sound in principle, but needs, especially in this field of derivations, more rigorous application than it has here been given. In view of the express doctrine of the Pléiade, called by Faguet the doctrine of "innutrition," the searcher for motifs should be on the watch for appearances in a secondary author's text not merely of complete reproductions of passages from an original—that is, translations—but for partial reproductions or mere paraphrases. It is certainly harder to be sure of one's attributions to a source when one is handling this kittle material, and Dr. Cameron may have been moved by prudence in restricting her attention to the fairly obvious cases of imitation; however, the less obvious cases have more to teach about the secondary author's principles of assimilation and composition. For instance, the crow-swan myth of *OF*, XXXV, 11-23, may well be the source of some of the Pléiade's references to the immortalizing swan of poesy (Horace's use of the latter idea being duly kept in mind)—as, for instance, in Du Bellay's *Lyre chrestienne*, fifteenth and twenty-first strophes. Incidentally, Dr. Cameron misses the obvious appearance of the complete pair (crow and swan) in Du Bellay's *Amours*, X, and is led thereby into too sweeping a statement about the whole sequence. The *Orque avaricieux* of Du Bellay's *Discours sur la louange de la vertu*, third strophe, is to be added to the list of reminiscences from *OF*, XXXVI, 31-42, or from Horace's *rapax Orcus*, which Ariosto presumably had in mind. By the way, in naming the monster, Ariosto is far more likely to have borrowed from his Pliny the name of the *orca*, a type of whale appearing in *Nat. hist.* ix. 6, 5. § 12, than that of the *orcynus* of the tunny family. Inadvertencies in the text make Renée de France sister instead of cousin of Francis I (p. 10), and the date of Du Bellay's first volumes 1449 instead of 1549 (p. 100). Other slips are infrequent, and the whole study is a necessary instrument for workers in the field.—ROBERT V. MERRILL.

In *The School Drama in England* (New York: Longmans, Green & Co., 1929) T. H. Vail Motter surveys the dramatic activities of ten of the English public schools separately, with brief accounts of the drama in other schools. The dramatic records on which the study is primarily based are published in



appendixes. There are fresh and interesting sections in the historical accounts, but the subject as a whole does not lend itself to a very coherent or significant treatment. In the discussions that range in time from the Renaissance to 1925, the older and the modern drama have little relation to each other, being separated in most cases by a century or more of dramatic inactivity as well as by changes in taste. Moreover, though the treatment by schools rather than by eras is probably the more feasible one, there is a constant sense of shifting from the Renaissance to modern times and back again. For the early period especially the records are often scant, and such as exist do not indicate clearly what part the public schools played in the significant dramatic movements of the Renaissance. Nevertheless, a student of the period feels that the subject could have been more adequately treated. For instance, the one distinct feature of the very early schools, the performances of boy bishops, is kept in the foreground, but the discussion is slight and perfunctory. In fact, the discussion of the early period at least is far too amateurish to deserve publication.—C. R. B.

In *Sidney's Arcadia: A Comparison between the Two Versions* (Amsterdam: Swets & Zeitlinger, 1929) R. W. Zandvoort makes a detailed and on the whole valuable study of the history and the art of Sidney's romance. In the early chapters of the book, after a survey of the evidence for the dates of the original and the revised texts, Zandvoort examines on the basis of specimen pages and typical passages (1) the characteristic variations in the six known manuscripts of the original version, (2) the nature of Ponsonby's 1590 edition of the revision, (3) the "corrections" of this by the Countess of Pembroke for the 1593 edition, and (4) her revision of the three additional books of the first version to complete her text. The later chapters deal with Sidney's progress as a story-teller and as a thinker (in a somewhat cursory fashion) and with the styles of the two versions. The last chapter has a brief summary of the sources of the *Arcadia*. Incidentally, either in the text or in the Bibliography, the author reviews all previous studies of the romance.—C. R. B.

An admirably full and useful inventory of publications of all sorts relating to Milton since the beginning of the nineteenth century is contained in David H. Stevens' *Reference Guide to Milton from 1800 to the Present Day* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1930. Pp. x+302). The titles, which number 2,850 (allowance must be made, however, for some repetitions), are arranged, conveniently enough on the whole, in nineteen sections: "Bibliographical and Reference Works"; "Collected Works: Prose and Poetry"; "Poetical Works"; "The 'Minor Poems' and Selected Minor Poems"; "Individual Works from the 'Minor Poems'"; "'Paradise Lost'"; "'Paradise Lost': Selected Books and Adaptations"; "'Paradise Regained' and Other Poems"; "'Samson Agonistes' and Adaptations"; "Prose Works"; "Select-

tions from the Prose and Poetical Works"; "Translations"; "Biography"; "General Criticism"; "Tributes and Ascribed Works"; "Editors of Milton"; "Epic"; "Metrics"; and "Milton's Influence." Brief notes, mainly descriptive but occasionally also critical, accompany many of the entries and in some measure compensate for the inclusion of numerous trivial publications—school editions of *Paradise Lost* and the minor poems, unoriginal essays and biographies—which, however interesting as indexes to the popularity of Milton in the nineteenth century, have little or no value for most of the students who will use the volume. A few unimportant slips may be noted: No. 98: for "1748" read "1848"; No. 637: for "1908" read "1808"; No. 1279: the author is Macaulay (cf. No. 1910); No. 1808: the author is not Saurat but John S. Smart; No. 2093: the author is Matthew Arnold (cf. No. 2101); No. 2437: for "Land" read "Lund."—R. S. C.

Teachers and students of Milton have been accustomed to generalize about the effect of the Bible on Milton, to speak in broad terms of its influence upon him. Curiously enough, no systematic treatment of the subject has appeared previous to *The Use of the Bible in Milton's Prose*, by Harris Francis Fletcher ("University of Illinois Studies in Language and Literature," Vol. XIV, No. 3, Urbana, 1929. Pp. 176). If Mr. Fletcher's study had done no more, it would be of real service to Miltonians in giving them careful and exact evidence on which to base their generalizations in the future. But Mr. Fletcher has not been content with careful statistics which prove what has seemed obvious, with the mere general conclusion that Milton "possessed a remarkable knowledge and command of the original texts of both the Old and the New Testaments." He has been able to show quite conclusively that Milton "everywhere exhibited a familiarity with text and critical apparatus possible only through long and constant use of the original Hebrew, and of the scholarly tools necessary to its use" (p. 49). More than that, he has shown that though Milton had his preferences in translations—the Authorized Version for English, the Junius-Tremellius for Latin—yet "only the Hebrew original of the Old Testament was the Old Testament so far as he was concerned, and the New Testament was the Greek. . . . The Bible for Milton was the Bible in its originals" (p. 90).

The most interesting conclusion of Mr. Fletcher's examination arises from his chronological index of the biblical citations in Milton's prose, suggesting the difference in his quotations before and after his blindness. Mr. Fletcher believes—and his evidence seems undeniable—that his blindness marked the termination of Milton's freedom in his use of the Scriptures. After he became dependent upon amanuenses, there is an abrupt change both in the number of quotations and in their freedom. Milton showed much more meticulous care for exact quotation after his blindness than before, apparently seldom trusting to his memory, seldom permitting himself to paraphrase or to change, but

following as exactly as possible a standard text, except in those cases where he himself emended the translation by retranslating the original Hebrew or Greek. After his blindness any such change, Mr. Fletcher finds, is in the interest of accuracy, not, as before, of greater freedom.—M. H. NICOLSON.

Professor van Roosbroeck, with a wide curiosity and an indefatigable activity, has recently added two titles to the list of his publications. *Alzirette: An Unpublished Parody of Voltaire's "Zaire"* and *L'Empirique: An Unpublished Parody of Voltaire's "Mahomet"* (New York: Institute of French Studies, 1929) do not make very entertaining reading, and cannot even be said to throw much light on the various historical and literary problems connected with Voltaire. The obscure authors of these insignificant plays had no style, not much penetration, and—which is even more to be deplored—very little genuine sense of humor. However, they deserved the honor of being reprinted as samples of a genre which was never more actively, and perhaps never more unsuccessfully, cultivated than in the eighteenth century. *L'Empirique* is one of those innumerable French plays which, from Molière to *Knock*, satirize the medical profession. *Alzirette* is preceded by a very full—and skilful—Introduction. We hope it will soon be followed by a larger study on parody in the eighteenth century, which no one could write with more competence, and more self-abnegation, than Professor van Roosbroeck.

*The Physics of Pascal*, by Isabel Leavenworth, in the same series (1930), is a very detailed study of an aspect of Pascal's work which few literary scholars can approach with the same technical scientific knowledge. Pascal's experimental method, his remarkable freedom from all prejudice, and his independence of authority are rightly emphasized. The story of Pascal's experiments and discoveries might, however, have been told more briefly, since the book has nothing really new to reveal on the topics discussed. The style, somewhat dry and pedestrian, will not make very light reading, and the contents will be useful, but not indispensable, to "pascalisants."

Mr. Joseph Rossi has made a greater effort to present a vivid picture of the entertaining and clever Abbé Galiani (*The Abbé Galiani in France*. Institute of French Studies, 1930). One wonders why this Neapolitan priest, diplomat, economist, letter-writer, and cynic has not yet been Mauroisized in one of the modern *vies romancées*. This study draws a hasty sketch of Galiani's life in Paris, it analyzes his famous *Dialogues sur le Commerce des Blés*, and it concludes with a score of pages on Galiani and French thought. No revelation is to be expected from the book; the author only touches on several—too many—interesting points, into which he could not probe deeply in some sixty pages. One is tempted to ask whether such hasty volumes offer enough to justify their existence. Publishers have recently promised us "cheaper and fewer novels"; would it not be wise of our scholars to give us fewer, perhaps longer, but decidedly better books?—HENRI PEYRE.

The translation of Volume V of the Abbé Prévost's *Adventures of a Man of Quality* which Miss Mysie E. I. Robertson has just contributed to "The Bourbon Classics" (New York: Lincoln MacVeagh, The Dial Press, 1930; pp. vii+208) is, like the other publications in that series, addressed primarily to general readers. Its chief value for students lies in the fact that it makes accessible for the first time in English, in its Introduction, notes, and Bibliography, some of the results of the important researches into Prévost's career in England and into the sources of his description of English life which were embodied in Miss Robertson's critical edition of the original text published in the "Bibliothèque de la *Revue de littérature comparée*" in 1927.—R. S. C.

About the only criticism that one feels disposed to make of *En Préface à Hernani—cent ans après*, by Georges Lote (Paris: J. Gamber, 1930), is suggested by the almost complete lack of footnote references to preceding works upon the subject with which all students of Victor Hugo are familiar. The book is in sum a digest of all or very nearly all that has been said before, and as such it is a very effective restatement, made absolutely without *parti pris*: a vigorous, clean-cut presentation of all the essential facts. The reader, or at least this reader, has very frequently the sensation of reading quite familiar material, but reading it through a magnifying lens. Often too there are points of view which seem enlarged and not infrequently quite new. This is especially true in chapter vi, "La Facture d'Hernani," an exceedingly illuminating treatment of the subject. But scattered through the other nine chapters new points are continually cropping up amid statements that recall Biré, Roy, and others—details which are either new or which take on a new significance from the way in which they are presented. Such, for example, are the statements as to the "success" of *Hernani* and the flings taken at the versification in the parodies—a point which is hardly touched upon in the well-known chapter of Roy dealing with the parodies. In short, it is a more complete treatment of sources and influences which entered into the preparation, composition, and presentation of *Hernani* than will be found in any other one book. It is written with a verve and a scientific candor which hold one's attention and enlist one's confidence from beginning to end.

The last chapter, "La Voix du Poète," presents what one is inclined to accept as something very close to a definitive appreciation of *Hernani* as a dramatic work: "*Hernani est un poème, et un poème romantique.*" It is even, as the author goes on to say, a series of romanticist poems on the themes suggested by the series of antitheses upon which the play rests: the king, the bandit; the old man, the young lovers; the tomb, the wedding: a series of poems which reflect the sentiments, the passions, and the attitudes of a stormy moment in modern civilization. They reflect moreover, and this to me at least is a quite unexpected discovery, much of Victor Hugo *intime*. M. Lote shows that the sentiments expressed by *Hernani* in his love scenes with Doña

Sol are closely related to those found in the *Lettres à la Fiancée*. Besides, the great monologue of the fourth act reveals, according to M. Lote, "une ambition qui a été commune à beaucoup d'écrivains romantiques, et qui plus particulièrement a été celle de V. Hugo," namely, that of finally making the pen mightier than the sword. Victor Hugo, for the moment at least, had a glimpse of the possibility that he might be, not merely *l'écho sonore, le mage*, but: *le Napoléon de l'idée*.

Because of the facts which it so clearly represents, the very considerable amount of supplementary material which it brings forward, its stimulating *aperçus*, *En Préface à Hernani* is an extremely interesting and valuable contribution to literary history.—COLBERT SEARLES.

